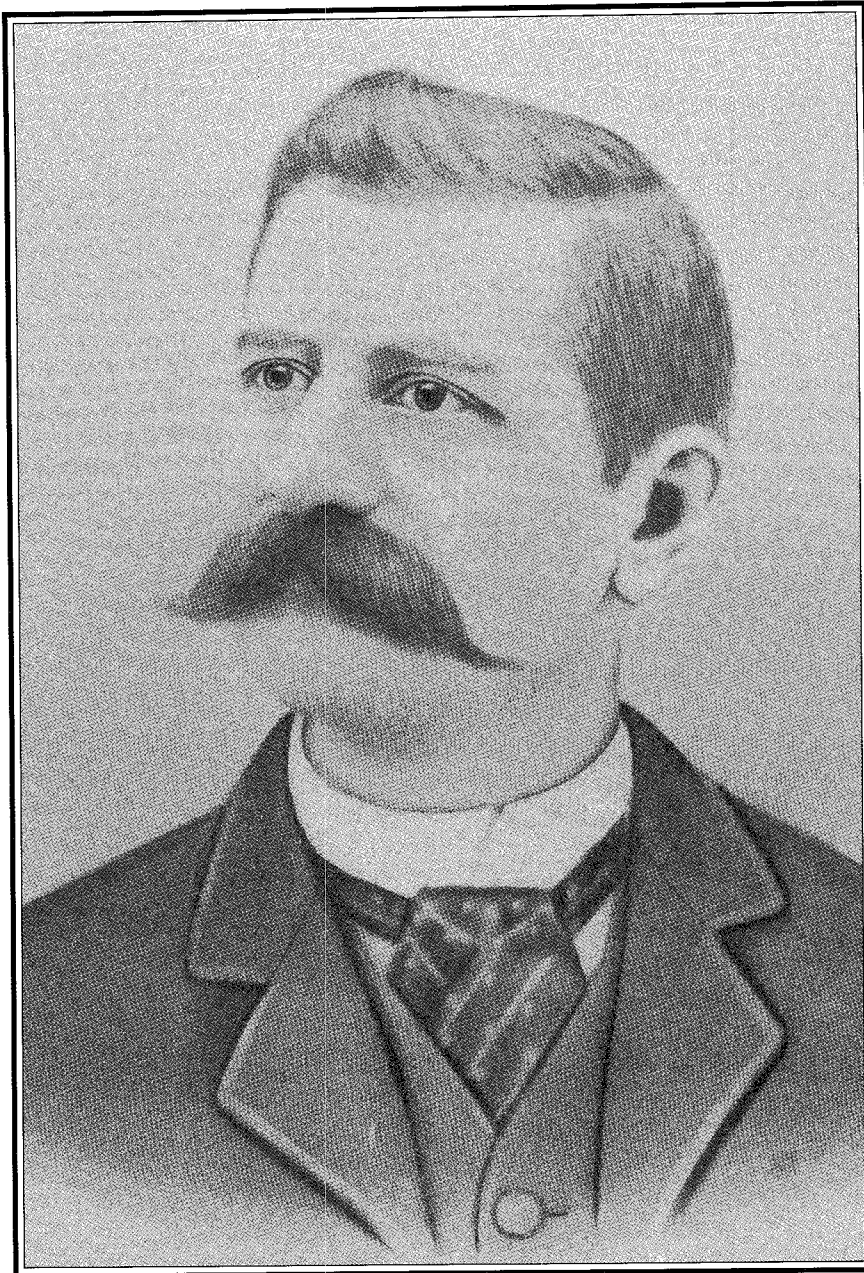


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WINTER 1990/91

CALIFORNIA HISTORY





A mature Jesús María Estudillo, shown in this photograph taken sometime after he left Santa Clara College, sports the distinctive moustache he began wearing during his student days. *Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.*

alternative. With acculturation as their ultimate objective, Catholic bishops and educators created primary and secondary schools and colleges that met the needs of the post-conquest *californios*.

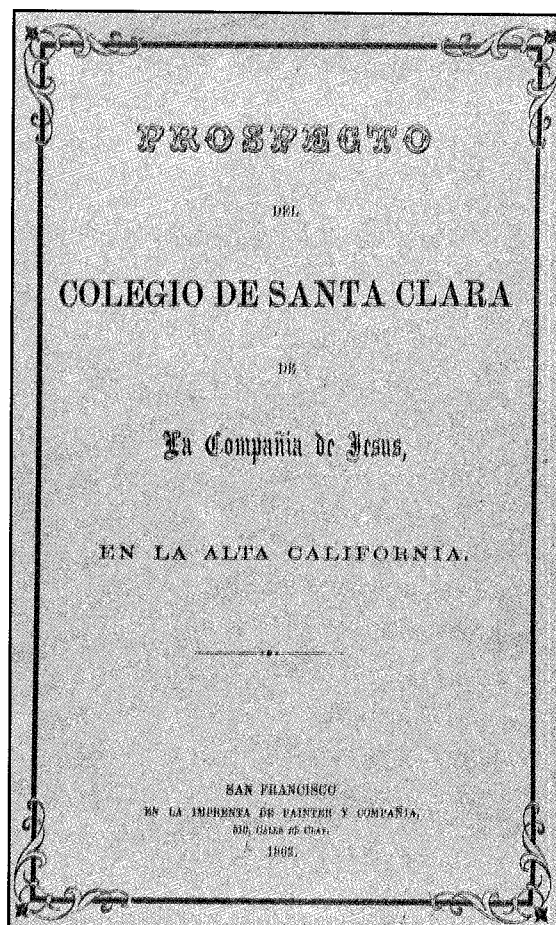
One of the few public institutions that actually recruited *californios* and other minority students was the University of California's Fifth Class. Organized in 1871 as a preparatory department of the recently-opened university, the Fifth Class program provided a high school education

that helped students prepare for the university entrance examination. It proved highly successful, enrolling more students than the university and funneling many into its classrooms. Opposition and financial problems, however, led to the termination of the Fifth Class two years after it started. With the passing of that short-lived experiment, minority enrollment at the university nearly ceased, and *californios* had to look elsewhere for schooling.¹⁰

One of their most popular alternatives in the northern part of the state was Santa Clara College (today's Santa Clara University). Founded by immigrant Italian Jesuits in 1851 at Mission Santa Clara, the all-male boarding school enjoyed a wide Hispanic patronage throughout the nineteenth century. The attraction of the college reflected the large number of Spanish-speakers among the local population. In 1851 nearly half of nearby San Jose's 6,664 inhabitants were native Californians or Mexicans.¹¹ Their presence also illustrated the affinity between Hispanic Catholics and the Catholic Church at mid-century. As Leonard Pitt has observed, during the difficult transition years from Mexican to American rule, the *californio* "found it easier to retain his identity as a Catholic than as a miner, rancher, voter, or naturalized citizen."¹² The value that Catholics placed upon religious instruction reinforced Santa Clara's attractiveness. James Alexander Forbes, himself Jesuit-educated and married to *californiana* Anita María Galindo, enrolled his several Anglo-Hispanic sons in the school. It was "the best there is in California," he informed Santa Barbara merchant José Antonio Aguirre, because the faculty members "are concerned about the religious education of the students, without which there can be no true instruction."¹³

Early enrollment lists at Santa Clara read like a roll call of *californio* history, including such names as Alviso, Argüello, Bandini, Berryessa, Camarillo, Castro, Del Valle, Malarin, Pacheco, Pinero, Suñol, and Vallejo. Even Juan Bautista Alvarado, notwithstanding his high praise of public schooling, enrolled his offspring at this private institution. During its first twenty-five years (1851-1876), Santa Clara enrolled a total of 1,650 students; of those, between 350 and 400 were Spanish-surnamed or Spanish-speaking.¹⁴ In the 1867-1868 academic year, students of Hispanic origin constituted twenty-five percent of the school's total enrollment of 216 students. So important was its tie with that group that the college actively recruited Spanish-speaking students by publishing a Spanish-language edition of its yearly bulletin.¹⁵

While the bulletin provides clues to the value the college placed on Hispanic enrollments, students' perceptions of the school are more difficult to reconstruct. However, the diaries of one of them, Jesús María Estudillo, have survived. Preserved in the Bancroft Library, Estudillo's extant journals cover three of his six-and-a-half years at the school. Portions of one volume (1862) have been published and edited, but the bulk of his writings remain unpublished and overlooked by historians. Nonetheless, they provided valuable insight into the



The front cover of the Spanish edition of the Santa Clara College prospectus, or bulletin, which the college issued to fulfill its commitment to educate *californio* and other Spanish-speaking students in the early decades after the American conquest of the state. Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.

educational experiences of second-generation *californios* and their attempts to lead a bilingual and bicultural existence.¹⁶ Written during a time of historical crisis for native Californians, they show how an upper-class young man struggled with the challenge of adapting to a new political, economic, cultural, and ethnic order as the state moved from a Hispanic to an Anglo-dominated society. The diaries open a window on evolving *californio* consciousness during that era by revealing how Estudillo coped with such issues as language, religion, gender, acculturation, friendship, and changing daily life. The journals also underscore the role of the Catholic Church in the transition process. The Jesuit college at Santa Clara served as a mediating influence between old and new cultures, while at the same time providing continuity with the *californios'* Hispanic past.

The sensibilities and events recorded in Estudillo's journal were necessarily those of a relatively

privileged, if not always wealthy, upper-class youth. His interests, outlook, and entertainments were those of the *ranchero* elite to which he belonged. For them, education was an indispensable means of protecting eroding family fortunes and a key to survival in the post-conquest world. Indeed, Jesús María's desire to adjust and accommodate to change marked him as a man of his time. *Californios* of his generation were "only vaguely aware of the Arcadian period and the revolutions and wars that had engrossed their parents," observes Leonard Pitt, but they became "acutely conscious of the consolidation of the new order."¹⁷ Their desire to adapt was often supported and reinforced by parents concerned about their future security. "Study, study as much as you can. Don't waste time," the mother of Napoleon Vallejo urged her son at the college.¹⁸ Estudillo's intense resolve to master the English language and adapt to Anglo customs testified to a determination to find a place in the new dispensation, which Santa Clara facilitated by providing the skills and contacts necessary to make the passage. But the transition was not easy. As his cousin and classmate José Guadalupe Estudillo declared years later to a young nephew, "we deserve some credit for what we have accomplished under terrible disadvantages."¹⁹

Jesús María was born in 1844 into one of the landholding families that appeared on the northern Mexican frontier in the late colonial period. Although its hold on land and capital was seriously jeopardized by the upheaval that followed in the wake of the Gold Rush, the family retained sufficient funds to send three sons to Santa Clara College. Thirteen-year-old Jesús María enrolled in the preparatory department in 1857. He was joined the following autumn by two older brothers, twenty-two-year-old Luis and twenty-three-year-old Vicente, as well as by José de Guadalupe Estudillo, a cousin from San Diego.

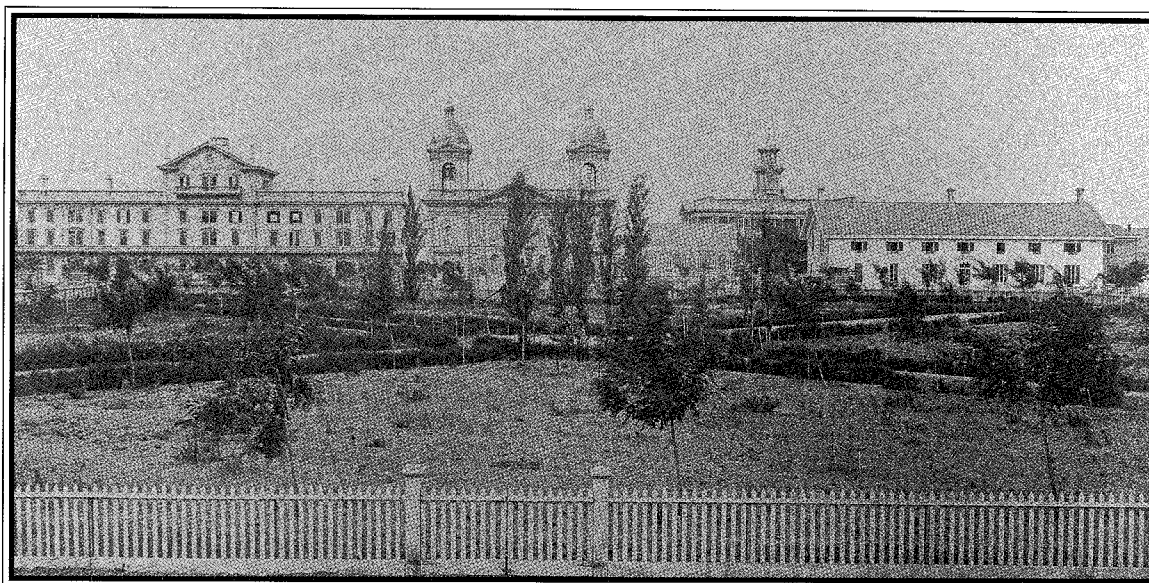
The diarist spent nearly seven years on the campus. Jesús María's first four years were devoted to studying high school level courses in history, geography, French, English, Spanish, mathematics, bookkeeping, and elocution. Collegiate classes in literature, rhetoric, philosophy, English, French, Latin, Greek, astronomy, chemistry, and mineralogy occupied his last three years. Although his studies appear to have been directed toward a bachelor's degree, frequent courses in bookkeeping suggest he anticipated a career in business, as did many of his classmates. For example, James Watson, the son of James Alexander Watson and María Dolores Domínguez of Los Angeles, was sent to Santa Clara "to prepare himself for the commercial

world." A year after he left to help manage the family holdings, his brothers, Patrick and Robert, enrolled at the ages of twenty and twenty-two for the same reason. Most *californios*, like Anglos, sought a practical, rather than a classical, college education.²⁰

Many *californios* came to Santa Clara hoping to perfect their English, whose growing importance for trade had become evident even before annexation. For example, San Diego merchant Miguel Pedrorena and Mariano G. Vallejo of Sonoma "spoke English fluently by the 1840's."²¹ And Romualdo Pacheco of Santa Barbara had sent two sons (one of whom later briefly became governor of the state) to Hawaii for "an Anglo Saxon education."²² After the conquest, the parents of many Spanish-speaking students were especially eager that their sons "master English and the basic subjects crucial for success and survival in the world that had burst upon them with the coming of the Anglos."²³ John C. Pelton, who taught six hundred children in Gold Rush San Francisco, reported in 1851 that he found Hispanic students "eager to learn English."²⁴ Both Pedrorena and Vallejo also sent their sons to Santa Clara for that purpose.

Estudillo was sufficiently confident in the new tongue by age thirteen that he wrote his diary in English. His facility was probably due in part to the influence of his Anglo brothers-in-law. Finding "American customs and laws too perplexing and complicated," his father had hired John B. Nugent, an Irish-American, and John Ward to manage his estate and other business affairs. Each man subsequently married one of Jesús María's sisters; a third sister married William Heath Davis, San Francisco merchant and trader.²⁵ Estudillo's mother insisted that he speak Spanish at home and did not oppose his studying that language at Santa Clara. But she sent him to the college to perfect his English and chided him when letters home revealed insufficient progress in the new tongue.²⁶

Some students arrived at the college in the 1850s speaking only Spanish, which was still "the prevailing language" in nearby Monterey and in the southern part of the state.²⁷ In Santa Barbara a visitor in 1871 recalled hearing political speeches in both Spanish and English that "attracted a large concourse of both sexes and of each race."²⁸ In response to demand, Spanish language courses were offered at Santa Clara. "Keep him at his Spanish," George Simpton, the port warden of San Francisco, instructed the president of the college when his son enrolled in 1853, "for I think every boy and man in this country should understand Spanish and French."²⁹ When the college president enrolled the son of William Keith of



This rare photograph of Santa Clara College, by Carleton E. Watkins, ca. 1866, looks west across the Alameda to the mission church, center, built in 1825. Its Victorian spires were added in the early 1860s, and the original church was destroyed by fire in 1926. To the left is the administration building; to the right, the small Gothic structure is the students' chapel, built in 1856. The adobe building, to which was added an upper story housing the debating hall, dates from the mission period. The single tower in the far background is the Science Hall. In his diary, Estudillo writes about the spectacular views of the valley from the tower. *Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.*

Stockton, he discovered that the boy "speaks no English."³⁰ Jesús María Estudillo's cousin, José Guadalupe Estudillo, the future state treasurer, also spoke only Spanish when he arrived at the college from San Diego in 1858. He once asked his brother-in-law, William Heath Davis, "to overlook all my mistakes in writing because it is [a] very short time since I commenced to learn English."³¹ Others whose early training was limited to tutoring at home, came ill-equipped for formal schooling. "Alfredo [Bandini] is well," a Jesuit teacher informed Abel Stearns, the boy's guardian, in 1862, but "very deficient in his preparatory instruction."³² To accommodate such students, Santa Clara offered some bilingual instruction. Surviving records reveal that in the 1860s and 1870s "Spanish Christian doctrine classes" were held for students whose first language was Spanish. There were also reading and spelling classes for "foreigners." Although most of those enrolled came from northern Mexico, the courses also drew students from nearby Monterey and Santa Cruz.³³ But the majority of students arrived at the college with at least some knowledge of English.

At nearby Notre Dame College, however, which was attended by the sisters of many Santa Clara students, the enrollment of Spanish-speakers was sufficiently large that a separate Spanish-only division was created for them. The greater number of

Spanish courses there suggests that as a consequence of their more sheltered upbringing young *californio* women were less exposed to English than were men. So many Spanish-speakers attended Notre Dame that even report cards and bills were printed in Spanish. By the end of the 1850s, the separate "Division of Spanish Young Ladies" was abandoned, and the college began offering instead parallel courses in Spanish and English, but on a larger scale than Santa Clara.³⁴

Despite the facility in English that he had acquired at home, Jesús María Estudillo labored to improve his skills during his years at Santa Clara. In fact, his struggle to perfect his speaking ability runs as a theme throughout his journals. At age seventeen he was still keeping count of the number of times during the week he spoke Spanish outside of class, as if it were a fault to be uprooted. Although opportunities to converse abounded, Estudillo proudly recorded on one occasion "Today I did not speak two words in Spanish." That he missed conversing in his native tongue is suggested by an entry eight months later. "This afternoon I had a long conversation with [Juan] Solari, as it is seldom that I speak Spanish to anybody."³⁵

English language mastery was the result of both educational policy and parental mandate. For native Spanish-speakers like Estudillo this meant intensive study of English because all courses,

including mathematics, bookkeeping and the sciences, required the frequent writing of compositions. For example, an essay assigned in a geography class in 1861 asked students to describe the terrain over which a transcontinental railroad would pass en route from San Francisco to Jefferson City, Missouri.³⁶ Jesuit pedagogy also placed a high priority on *eloquentia perfecta*, or the cultivation of style. "Because poise in word and manner and the ability to speak and write correctly reflected a disciplined and educated mind," literary societies, debating, and dramatic activities were promoted in both the curriculum and extracurriculum of the typical Jesuit school.³⁷ Unlike his classmate Napoleon Vallejo, who was very interested in dramatics, Jesús María declined invitations to participate in theatrical productions, preferring instead to improve his English through elocution and debate.³⁸

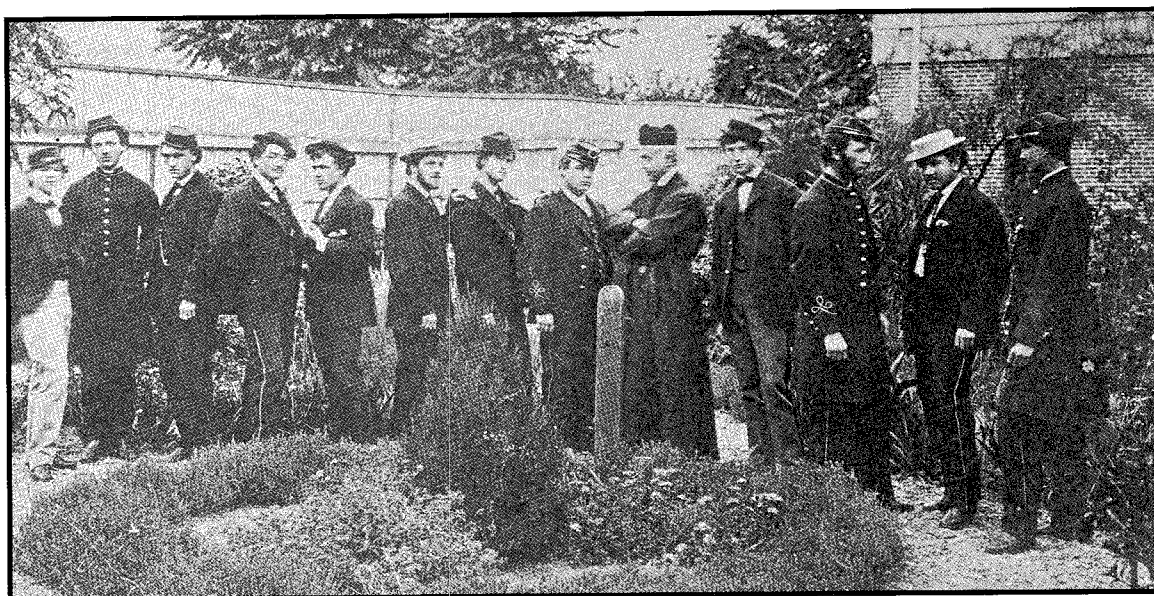
Estudillo recorded in detail the ups and downs of his linguistic progress. That the experience was sometimes exhilarating was shown by an entry that announced triumphantly, "This evening was the first time I ever composed two lines of poetry."³⁹ But setbacks and challenges also abounded. After exams in 1861, his grade in English "was almost 'bad,'" he noted "with the greatest regret."⁴⁰ "Of my college days, this had been the wretchedest," the angry adolescent confided to his diary a year later.

No peace has dwelled within this bosom in the whole day since grammar class to the hour of

writing these few lines, seven o'clock in the evening. I have wished that I would not have come back [to college] this session, and I declare if I am kept in the same English class after Christmas I will not come back, at least if the same teacher teaches the class."⁴¹

Estudillo's troubled relationship with his English professor, a New England Jesuit named Edmond Young, was a subject of frequent lament. Piqued by the priest's constant correction of mistakes and his insistence on repetition as a means of learning proper pronunciation, and displeased by the teacher's grades, the sensitive youth bitterly complained "how contemptible he is treating me."⁴² Once when he was not called upon to recite in chemistry class, he convinced himself it was because of his inability "to pronounce well."⁴³ However, unlike Anglo classmates who sometimes rebelled against authority, Estudillo adhered to his cultural upbringing by always maintaining a reverent and respectful attitude toward his teachers.⁴⁴

He was a diligent and competitive student whose application to studies won praise from instructors. In 1862 his superior performances in both history and speech were given special recognition in annual end-of-the-year public exhibitions.⁴⁵ That same year he was admitted into the college's prestigious Philhistorian Debating Society, whose purpose was "to promote in its members the knowledge of history and literature by useful discussions, and, by accustoming them to speak with ease and fluency, to prepare them for debates of a higher order."⁴⁶



A group of drama students poses, ca. 1862, with Fr. Edmond Young, whom Estudillo mentions often in his diary. Estudillo might be among the students gathered here, although he preferred debate to theatrical activities. Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.

Debate topics ran the gamut from history (Were Christian Spaniards justified in driving the Moors from Spain? Was Pepin the Short justified in conquering Italy?) to questions of current interest such as dueling, the carrying of concealed weapons, freedom of the press, capital punishment, and the comparative benefits of private and public education. Although Father Young's exacting corrections occasionally left him "wishing almost never to speak another speech," he persevered in his study of oratory and argumentation.⁴⁷ A new level of self-confidence was recorded the day a Dublin-born professor assured him he recited a prose assignment—"The Land I Long to See"—with the feeling of an Irishman."⁴⁸ And he was pleased after delivering "a very hard piece" about Columbus when his tutor perceived only "two mistakes of pronunciation [*sic*]."⁴⁹ His crowning accomplishment was a long-desired invitation to orate at commencement exercises that year, "my first speech in public," he proudly recorded.⁵⁰

If the challenge of mastering English made college life difficult, other features made the Santa Clara milieu acceptable and even inviting. Its mixed student body provided opportunities for forging friendships with both Anglo and Hispanic classmates. And among its international faculty students found Jesuit and lay mentors who had themselves coped with the challenge of acculturation. The close-knit atmosphere that characterized the small boarding college placed professors and pupils in close familial contact. Estudillo described a Sunday evening when he and a best friend called on a favorite Jesuit professor: "Before supper [Edward] Palmer and I went to Fr. Guerrieri's room and smoked cigars."⁵¹ Another Sunday, he "went out walking with Mr. Pascal," his bookkeeping teacher. They "went to his house and [he] showed me the garden and dranked [*sic*] some wine. Then commencing [*sic*] home [we] called at Mr. Lawrie's [professor of music]. I was introduced to his . . . fine lady. Fr. Accolti was there. . . . Mr. Lawrie gave me some cherries."⁵² He reveled in a picnic celebrated by faculty and students before commencement one spring. "We stopped at Cook's grove to hear the speeches of the boys that were going to be graduated" and then traveled by wagon to Parrot's Garden, where "we had a very good dinner made at the restaurant, plenty of wine, champagne, [and of] lager beer we had a barrel."⁵³ As a *californio*, Estudillo shared the Italian faculty's tolerant appreciation of mild alcoholic drink.

Some aspects of life at the rural college reminded students of the ranchos from which they came. On holidays Estudillo frequently went hunting along

the creeks and marshes of the Santa Clara Valley. "We went through the woods and I killed good many rabbits and robbins [*sic*]," he wrote one night after returning from an outing with a friend. "We stayed there about two hours" and cooked our dinner, "two robbins, one rabbit roasted in the fire."⁵⁴ Game was sometimes brought home, prepared for supper, and shared with companions in the college dining hall. As he grew older, visits to young women at Notre Dame College replaced hunting as a preferred pastime. Although students were not allowed to keep horses at the college, Estudillo found frequent opportunities to indulge a favorite *californio* recreation. Mastery of riding and horsemanship by youngsters even before they could walk had long impressed foreigner visitors to California, one of whom observed that early training "begot acquisition of riding expertise by the age of ten or twelve."⁵⁵ During Estudillo's youth in the 1850s and 1860s, horse racing, with high stakes, remained popular, even though some critical Anglos condemned it as Sabbath-breaking and "the fruits of popery."⁵⁶ Like many *californios*, Jesús María lived on horseback and was well known for riding his animals to exhaustion. On one occasion he rented a horse and buggy from a nearby San Jose stable and drove the animal fifteen miles in one hour and twenty minutes on a warm day. He was annoyed when the return trip took him fifteen minutes longer.⁵⁷

Academics, too, formed links with the past. Skill and knowledge of poetry, which was admired and encouraged in Hispanic California, was fostered at Santa Clara. By thus providing continuity with pre-conquest culture, the Catholic college filled much the same function for young *californios* that the Catholic parish did for European immigrants in nineteenth-century America. It offered "a familiar experience in a strange environment" and thereby helped to facilitate accommodation to a changed world.⁵⁸

Religion forged the strongest bond with *californio* culture. On the carnival days preceding Ash Wednesday, Estudillo and his classmates entertained themselves with traditional *cascarones*, egg shells filled with cologne or colored confetti, which were broken over the heads of unsuspecting acquaintances.⁵⁹ He loved horseback riding, but proudly recorded that on Good Friday "in Spanish countries no one is allowed to ride on horse or drive unless it is indispensable to do so."⁶⁰ Sermons in Spanish were still heard in the old mission church on campus, and devotional practices promoted by the Italian priests of the college were similar to those of Hispanic California. Public religious processions, once common on the Mexican

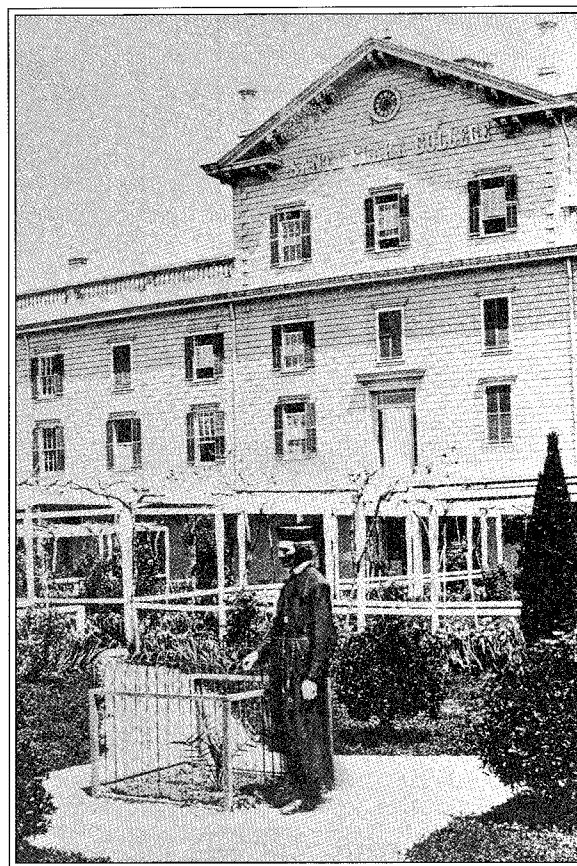
frontier, but abandoned in most cities after the conquest lest they offend non-Catholics, were still held at the college on feast days such as Corpus Christi and Good Friday. Although it is unclear if the feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe or Mexican Independence were specially honored in Estudillo's day, they were celebrated at the college with picnics and special liturgies later in the century.⁶¹

Estudillo's diary illustrates a phenomenon noted by sociologists, namely, that the church often served as "the first line of defense" behind which ethnic groups threatened with loss of identification organized themselves to preserve their group identity.⁶² As one study of the post-conquest *californios* notes, "they were a ruling class militarily conquered, bereft of national sovereignty and a constitutional framework, and alienated from their land, homes, civil rights, and honor. They had retained little else besides their religion and a thin residue of honorary political influence."⁶³ It is not surprising that Estudillo's journals reflect the interests of a young man whose self-perception emphasized his Catholic identity. For this scion of a beleaguered upper-class family, religion remained a valued last vestige of an old order that was quickly passing, while also providing continuity and help in coping with the new. Theology is "so necessary to know," he wrote, so that "when you go out in the world you may be able to hold fast to our religion."⁶⁴ After attending Saturday morning chapel talks by the president, he declared "he has charmed me . . . by his eloquence and convincing lecture. May his words be not lost."⁶⁵ Annual spiritual retreats found Estudillo making "good resolutions for the future" and "reading and meditating in the veyard [vineyard] . . . on hell, the glory of God, and of eternity, eternity, eternity."⁶⁶

Religion also shaped his relations with young women, whose company he pursued with typical adolescent zeal. He frequently recorded having "had a good time with all the girls," usually students from nearby Notre Dame College.⁶⁷ A coach trip from Santa Clara to San Jose with María Antonia Argüello was particularly pleasant because "we had the back seat of the stage and we were very close together."⁶⁸ The attractiveness of another young woman plunged him into emotional turmoil. "Last night I did not sleep but very little dreaming of H[arriet] C[obb]."⁶⁹ Estudillo's romantic interests were circumscribed, however, by sectarian concerns. After having a "splendid time" at a spring picnic attended by "many handsome" members of "the fair sex," he revealed that there was one person to whom "I did not speak." The apparent reason: he was Catholic, she was Protestant.⁷⁰ Three years later he refused to congratulate a newly-

married sister and her husband when they departed for their honeymoon, because the groom was a Boston Protestant and "I knew what my feelings would be."⁷¹

All things Protestant were found wanting. After attending a commencement at nearby College of the Pacific, he reported "nothing was done worth praising."⁷² Resentful of criticisms made of the Church and of Mexico by some of the speakers, he concluded that Methodism was "the lowest, the most contemptible sect on earth."⁷³ The death of the popular Unitarian preacher, Thomas Starr King, elicited a dismissive journal entry: "Poor fellow, I pity him, a man eloquent undoubtedly," but lacking in "principle."⁷⁴ The Masonic order he described as "that accursed society."⁷⁵ Estudillo's intolerance of non-Catholics no doubt reflected Catholic attitudes of the day and the influence of his Jesuit mentors. But it also mirrored the antipathy of many *californios* who identified Protestants as "blond-



Fr. Luigi Varsi, an Italian Jesuit, stands beside a young palm seedling in the mission gardens of Santa Clara College. In the background are the grape trellises of the quadrangle, also planted by the Italian Jesuit founders of the college, which included Varsi. Father Varsi was named the sixth president of the college shortly after Estudillo left. Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.

headed heretics" who had despoiled them of their property and their rightful place in society.⁷⁶

The extent to which Estudillo encountered racial enmity at Santa Clara is unknown. At nearby Notre Dame College, a "state of cold war" raged in the 1850s between *californio* and Anglo students. Raised in home environments that protected them from the world, the Spanish-speaking young women felt "ill at ease" among less restrained "Yanquitas."⁷⁷ Because no such sharp contrast in upbringing divided males of the two cultures, that source of conflict was not present at Santa Clara. That there was racial strife between Anglo and Hispanic students is clear, however, from an incident that occurred during Estudillo's second year. In 1859 the student military drill company of the college was temporarily "broken up" because, one student reported, "the American boys did not want to march with the Greasers."⁷⁸ Estudillo once overheard a fellow student ask Father Young what the term "greaser" meant. The priest replied, "One that is born in this state, like Estudillo," who happened to be standing nearby. Although highly sensitive to slights, Jesús María recorded "I could not be offended by this comparison of his," because he could have applied it to anyone. Besides, he concluded, the term refers to a person of "greasy" or "copper color," which "I do not think I possess."⁷⁹ Like most *californios* of his class and caste, Estudillo was himself sensitive to racial differences and did not identify with Spanish-speakers he considered to be of mixed or "inferior" lineage, such as the lower-class immigrants from Mexico during the Gold Rush era or the laborers who worked on his family's rancho.

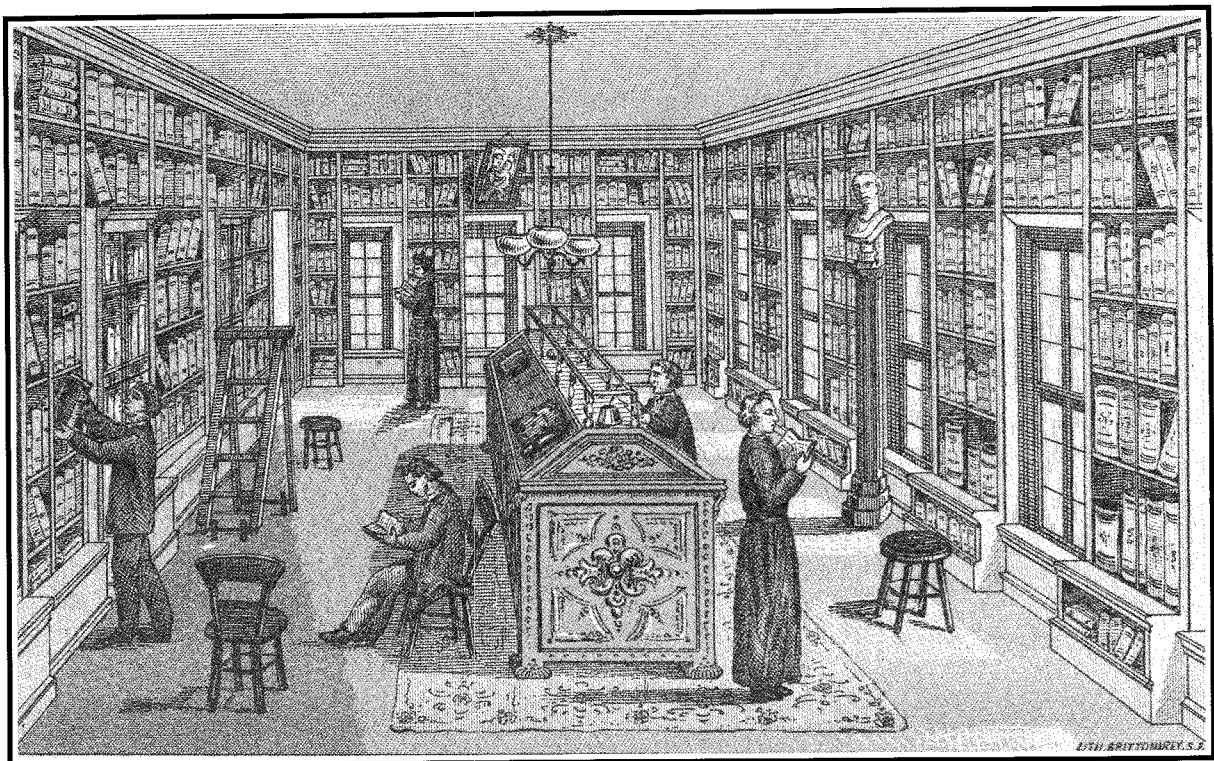
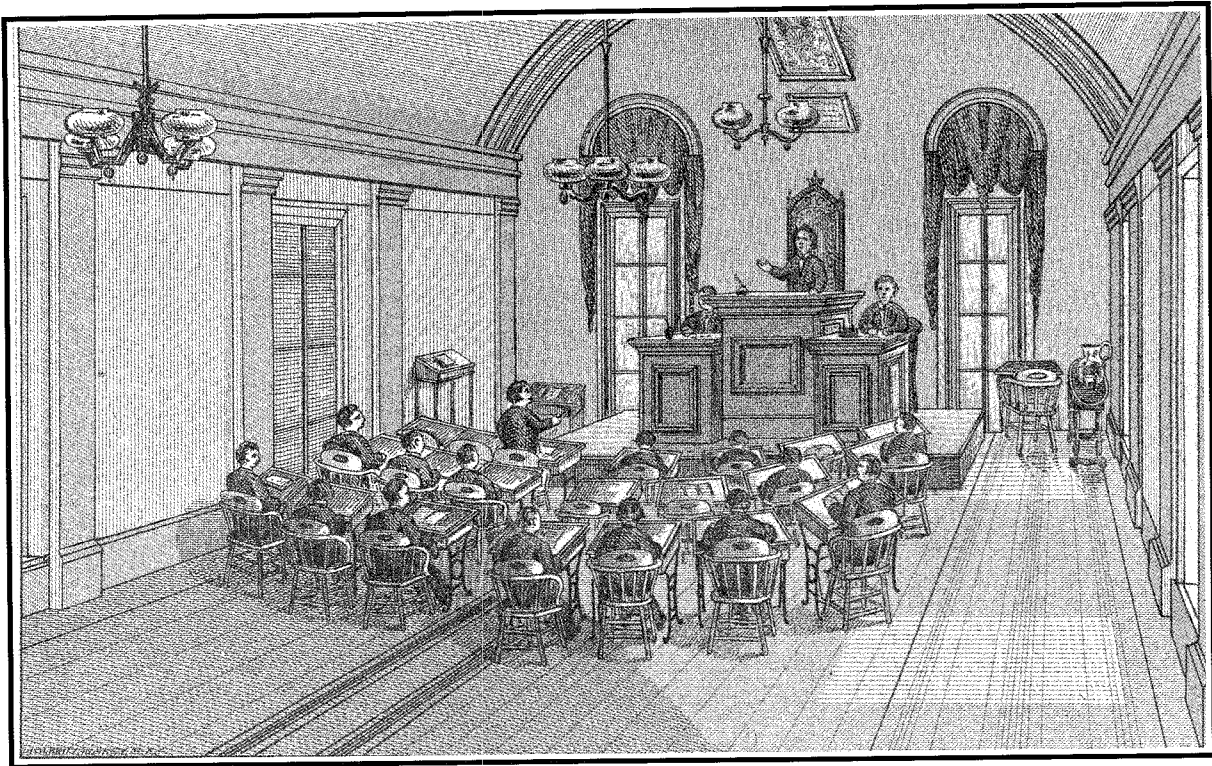
The absence of references to racial conflict in the diaries is puzzling. It is perhaps possible to interpret Estudillo's silence as a suppressed protest against the inculturation process and ill-treatment to which he was subjected. But his ostensible testimony suggests that he was relatively well integrated into both the upper-class *californio* and Anglo worlds. Jesús María was "nominated and selected 2nd corporal [of the military drill company] by acclamation" of his fellow cadets.⁸⁰ He also enjoyed close friendships with classmates and young women of both Anglo and *californio* background. He was a frequent guest at the Santa Clara home of Luís Argüello, son of California's first Mexican governor; on the other hand, one of his closest friends was Edward Palmer, whose family owned a large sheep ranch at Mission San Jose. Attracted to "good looking young ladies" from both groups, he preferred those who possessed the social graces admired by Hispanic Californians. He liked an American he met at a party because

she was "a very accomplished young lady, and perfectly lady-like in her actions," thereby resembling "very much . . . the Spanish character."⁸¹

The apparent ease with which Estudillo moved in both worlds mirrored his ever-increasing Americanization. An avid reader, he subscribed to several newspapers and magazines and kept careful note of favorite authors, such as Shakespeare, Washington Irving, Theodore Hittell, and Oliver Goldsmith. "I have read with great interest Mr. [Rufus] Choate's lecture on the early British poets of this century," he noted, especially Sir Walter Scott.⁸² He was "so enticed" by the Waverly novels "that I fear I will not be able to leave them until I finish them all."⁸³ Years of training in rhetoric taught him to analyze the literary style of the works he read. By 1864 he had even come to a new-found appreciation of Father Young. "I like his preaching very much," he admitted in his diary.⁸⁴ His teachers would have been gratified by a set of "rule[s] that I intend to carry through life," which he drew up in 1864. I shall "study Blair's Rhetoric for an hour or more," he resolved, and to exercise the memory "I shall learn by heart twenty lines of some favorite author, prose or verse." A final resolution was easier to keep: "I shall read some good author for an hour at least, and do this with a great deal of care."⁸⁵

Home life, to which he returned during the summers, was also filled with cross-cultural borrowings. When family and friends entertained in the parlor they played euchre and old maid, popular American card games, as well as a French amusement known as bezique.⁸⁶ Evening sing-alongs included Spanish and English selections, such as "La Despedida Militar" and "Annie of the Vale."⁸⁷ Traditional Spanish dances had yielded somewhat to French and American steps like the quadrille, the schottische, and the waltz, but the family still held dance parties that continued "until four o'clock in the morning."⁸⁸

Shifts in entertainment reflected more profound changes, including an ever-closer identification with the culture of the United States. After attending a Fourth of July parade and fireworks in San Francisco in 1862, Estudillo confided to his diary: ". . . though not a free born American, [I] feel a little of that spirit which raises and makes every American's heart leap with gladness at the very name of Liberty . . . when paying honor to the Fourth of July."⁸⁹ His entries also revealed a weakening of ties with his Hispanic roots. A first-ever trip to San Diego and to the Mexican border that summer proved highly disappointing, even though the region was intimately linked to his family's



These two lithographs, ca. 1878, depict interior Santa Clara College scenes as they would have appeared in Estudillo's day. Estudillo worked diligently to perfect his English and became an accomplished debater. The debating hall, top, was converted from an adobe mission into a classroom. The well-read Estudillo also undoubtedly spent many hours in the college library, pictured in the lower illustration. *Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.*

origins and retained many features of Hispanic culture. Although he enjoyed meeting relatives, Jesús María agreed with his sister Lola that San Diego was "too lonesome and degraded" a place to live.⁹⁰ "Never in the world could I imagine to myself that such a miserable country could exist. . . . The only thing I found in San Diego to take pleasure in was the amount of game" and hunting.⁹¹ His preference for the Americanized north no doubt reflected his upper-class background. He identified not with the primitive frontier culture of southern California, but with the bustling commercial world of the urbanized north, where his family's economic interest lay and whose values he had now embraced. That same summer he reluctantly began reading a book written in Spanish, remarking "I suppose I would not have read Spanish if it was not that I was so lonesome."⁹²

Despite Estudillo's progress in the acquisition of the skills that had led him to Santa Clara, worry over family finances sometimes undermined his ability to concentrate on studies. Anxious about "the great debts we have at present," he frequently considered leaving school.⁹³

After supper I went and sat myself down on the last bench by the corridor of the dormitory and contemplated for a good while what my course in life should follow when out of the College. Sometimes I thought of remaining till I would graduate; at others, I thought of not coming any more after this session and if circumstances would not permit, I would not come back after Christmas.⁹⁴

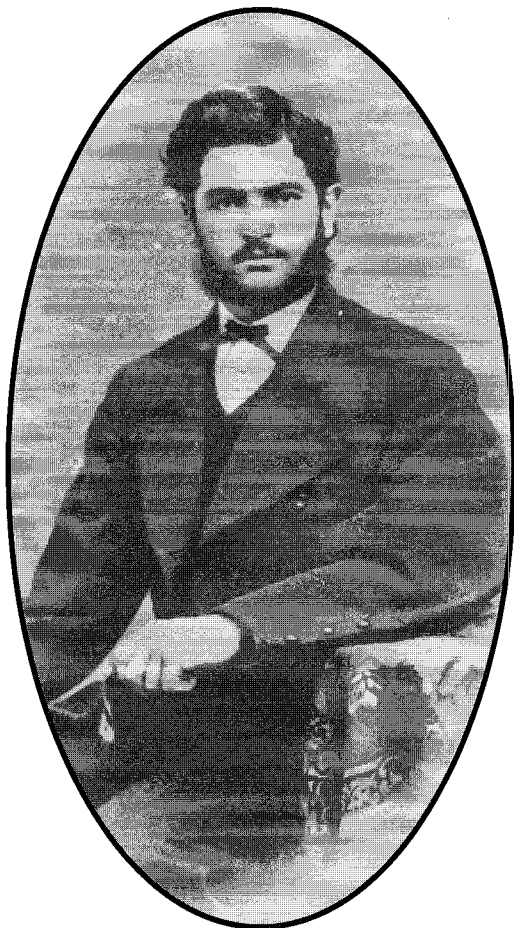
Although he persevered for two more years, he was plagued by anxiety every semester when tuition payment came due. On more than one occasion he traveled to San Jose to await the delivery of funds from home. "I waited till the stage arrived," he recorded in 1862, "but I was disappointed, nothing was sent."⁹⁵ The following year the United States Supreme Court confirmed his family's title to Rancho San Leandro, but squatter counter claims kept them in court, consumed their savings and plunged the clan ever deeper into debt. "The family owes now one hundred and seven thousand dollars at interest," he sadly noted in 1864.⁹⁶ The collapse of his brother's investment in mines in Nevada led him to write, "José Ramon, the poor fellow is almost ruined, both in constitution and in health."⁹⁷ No longer able to afford schooling, Jesús María, on the eve of his twentieth birthday, withdrew at the end of the spring term. "I will never recall happier and sweeter days than my College time," he wrote.⁹⁸ "If at this moment I was asked, 'Would you like to go back to Santa Clara? Here, take five hundred dollars,' I would not hesitate for

a moment, but would this very day start; but alas! fare thee well long-loved spot."⁹⁹

Estudillo's failure to graduate was not unusual. Few *californios* remained long enough to take the bachelor's degree; but neither did a majority of all pupils who attended the institution. For most nineteenth-century students, a college diploma was a luxury; education for more utilitarian purposes was a necessity. In other ways, however, Estudillo was atypical. He certainly did not represent the majority of young *californios*. His family's ability to pay \$350 in room, board, and tuition at Santa Clara marked it as a member of an elite minority. Even after the advent of United States control of California, "among the poor segment of the populace, both male and female, illiteracy remained the rule."¹⁰⁰ Estudillo's birth into a propertied family only four years before the American conquest had also guaranteed that he was to some extent both bilingual and bicultural even before enrolling at Santa Clara.

Although *californios* found much that was familiar at the college, it is not apparent that the Jesuits deliberately strove to preserve the local culture of those who came to them for schooling. Indeed, the opposite seems to have been the case. Santa Clara, like the church itself, was a "prime mover for acculturation."¹⁰¹ With the notable exception of religious practice, young *californios*—like the foreign-born faculty itself—were encouraged and helped to adjust to the dominant Anglo-American way of doing things. Parental intentions reinforced that approach, and the subsequent careers of Jesús María Estudillo and many of his contemporaries demonstrated its success.

Lack of data makes generalizations about the young *californios'* vocational pursuits difficult, but some patterns are discernible. The number who became involved in local politics is striking and supports the conclusion that in post-conquest California "a prestigious Spanish surname (especially when combined with a Caucasian face) remained a good entree into public office."¹⁰² Jesús María Estudillo was in 1873 nominated county clerk of Alameda County. His cousin José de Guadalupe Estudillo served as state treasurer of California from 1875 to 1880. Few Hispanic alumni were more politically influential than Reginaldo del Valle. After leaving the college in 1873, he passed the bar, was elected assemblyman and then state senator from Santa Barbara, and served "on countless governmental boards and civil committees until his death in 1938."¹⁰³ Careers in business or the professions were not uncommon. Ignacio Malarin became a



Napoleon Vallejo, above, a classmate and contemporary of Estudillo, was the youngest son of a prominent *californio*, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. After graduation, Napoleon and his wife lived in Oakland and San Francisco. Among his final projects were the study of California history and the completion of an unpublished biography of his famous father. *Courtesy Wolter Collection, Santa Clara University Archives.*

money broker in San Francisco; Plutarco Vallejo was a well-known mining engineer; and Napoleon Vallejo tried his hand at many occupations—farmer, liquor salesman, landscape artist, and finally historian and biographer of his famous father. Ygnacio Villegas worked for many years as telegrapher, bookkeeper, and then as agent for Wells Fargo. Although many *californios*, like Estudillo, were impoverished by losing their estates to squatters, some succeeded where the majority failed. Alfredo Bandini, Gomesindo Pacheco, and Miguel Pedrorena inherited family ranchos, where they lived comfortably. Few were as fortunate as James Watson of the Watson-Domínguez clan. “Befitting his training at Santa Clara College,” he became the leading businessman in a family whose southern California holdings were developed into large corporations that today control oil wells, factories, and shopping malls.¹⁰⁴

Jesús María Estudillo’s accomplishments were more modest and probably more representative. After leaving college he briefly studied law, managed for a while the Spanish correspondence of a local hardware firm, and then for the last twenty-five years of his life, served as bookkeeper for the Southern Pacific Railroad. Perhaps nothing better symbolized his assimilation into the mainstream than his marriage. Like an increasing number of *californio* men of his generation, he took an Anglo bride. And this young man, who had refused to talk to Protestant girls and had been angered by his sister’s marriage to a non-Catholic, married a Methodist divorcee.¹⁰⁵

The story of Estudillo and Santa Clara College’s other Spanish-speaking students is informative for many reasons. It broadens our understanding of *californio* culture, which has for too long been dominated by accounts of the careers of landowners, politicians, and bandits. Descriptions of the experiences of teenagers in the post-1848 period are especially rare. Estudillo’s story also fills a gap in the state’s educational history by shedding light on Hispanic schooling—whose full account remains yet to be written—and it underscores the key role that private institutions played in the academic culture of nineteenth-century California. The experience of Santa Clara’s Spanish-speakers also reaffirms the importance of religion in the lives of post-conquest *californios*. The popularity of the college reflected the affinity between Hispanic Catholics and the church, “the most sacred institution in the lives of many Mexicans,” to use Albert Camarillo’s phrase.¹⁰⁶ The college attracted Hispanics both because it was Catholic and because it offered bilingual instruction. Operated by Italian priests who were themselves newcomers to the United States, it also fostered forms of piety familiar to Latin Catholics. A bridge between change and continuity, Santa Clara College thus provided a relatively familiar environment and a safe haven in which young *californios* could make the difficult transition from pre- to post-conquest culture. CHS

See notes beginning on page 401.

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William James at Stanford

by Linda Simon

On January 1, 1906, William James was closeted in the compartment of a Santa Fe Railway train, making his way to the Pacific Coast. A few days before, he had left Cambridge, Massachusetts, eagerly anticipating the trip west and a five-month stay at Stanford University. It was not his first trip to the West—he had visited eight years earlier—but it would be his longest stay; and he was to be much more than a visitor this time. In fact, he was to take a position as acting head of Stanford's Philosophy Department, a role that reflected both his own reputation and the precarious state of academic life at the fourteen-year-old university.

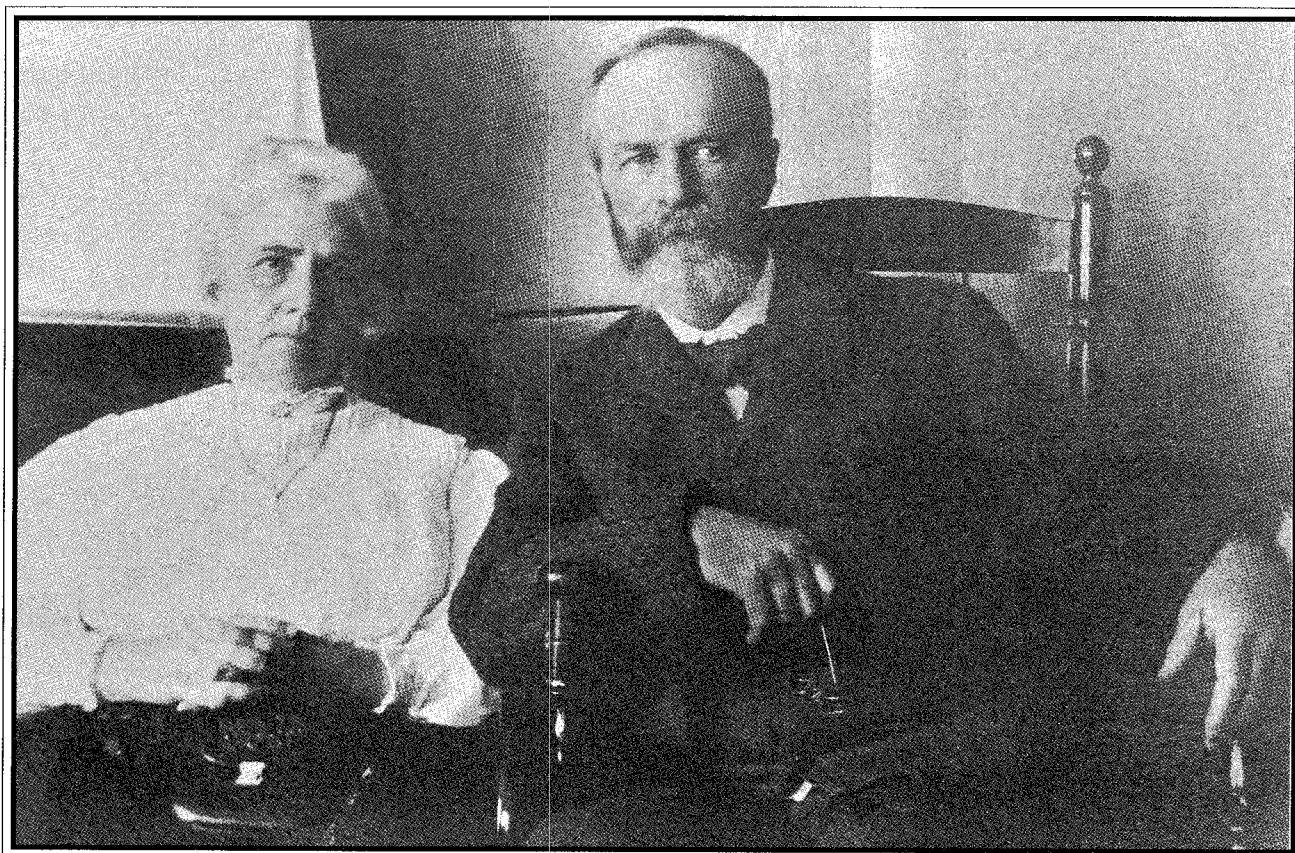
Shortly after his arrival at Stanford, James turned sixty-four. He was, in 1906, the foremost philosopher and psychologist in America—"It was James first and no second," said his former student, John Dewey. His *Principles of Psychology* and *Varieties of Religious Experience* had established him as an innovator who was creating, almost single-handedly, an original American philosophy. That philosophy celebrated pluralism and pragmatism, two terms that James made household words in the intellectual households of America.

James, however, was not content with speaking only to academics. His articles in popular journals and his frequent lectures brought his ideas, rendered easily intelligible by lively anecdotes and wit, to a wide audience. For James, being a popularizer was a laudable talent; he looked for that talent in his colleagues and in those students he recommended for teaching positions. Unless they could convey their ideas to those outside of the erudite circles of philosophers, what good were they?

Now James was on leave from Harvard, where

he had taught, in one capacity or another, for more than three decades, and where his students included Theodore Roosevelt, Gertrude Stein, John Dewey, and Walter Lippmann. His students hailed him as a modern man for the modern world, vigorous ("strenuous" was a favorite adjective of the day) and eager for new experiences. "To be educated, for him," said one of his students, "was to keep the mind in action, not to fit oneself into a frame."¹ His teaching style was as refreshing for his students as were his ideas. Unlike other professors, who stood at a lectern and read from their notes, James often preferred to sit on his desk or even to lie on the floor if necessary. He was forthright, colloquial, even—said his colleague George Santayana, ever sensitive to lapses in elegance—racy. His very presence was an inspiration. "Is life worth living?" Gertrude Stein asked. "Yes, a thousand times yes when the world still holds such spirits as Prof. James."² This "great mind," as she referred to him in her notebooks, was able to respond to her own originality and her need for personal and intellectual liberation. He encouraged her never to "reject anything. Nothing has been proved. If you reject anything, that is the beginning of the end as an intellectual." "Complicate your life as much as you please," he told her, "it has got to simplify."³

Joyously confronting the complexities of the twentieth century, James managed to formulate a vision of life that was not threatened by change, impermanence, or indeterminacy. Rare among his contemporaries, he managed to make a fertile transition from the nineteenth century's penchant for wholeness and stability to the twentieth-century world of unpredictability and rapid change. He



Alice and William James, ca. 1905, shortly before James accepted a brief appointment as visiting professor at Stanford University. *Courtesy The Houghton Library, Harvard University, and Alexander James, Glandore, County Cork, Ireland.*

easily relinquished the abiding creeds of his time: the idea of unity and the philosophical rationalism that required an abstract and logical universe. James stood firmly rooted in his own reality, and when old ways of thinking failed him, he changed his mind. Where some of his contemporaries, most notably Henry Adams, lapsed into despondency at a world that seemed hopelessly shattered, James remained high-spirited. He rejected the idea of unity for pluralism: not one, ultimate, transcendental reality, but many possible views of the world, depending on the beholder's eye and mind. James, in many ways a gracious Victorian gentleman, was in fact a revolutionary in his acceptance of new possibilities of vision and action.

In early 1906, he was bringing his message to students at Stanford, but he had been lured not so much by the chance to affect young minds in a new context as by the persistent pleas of David Starr Jordan, the college's president, who hoped that James could help to energize the campus.

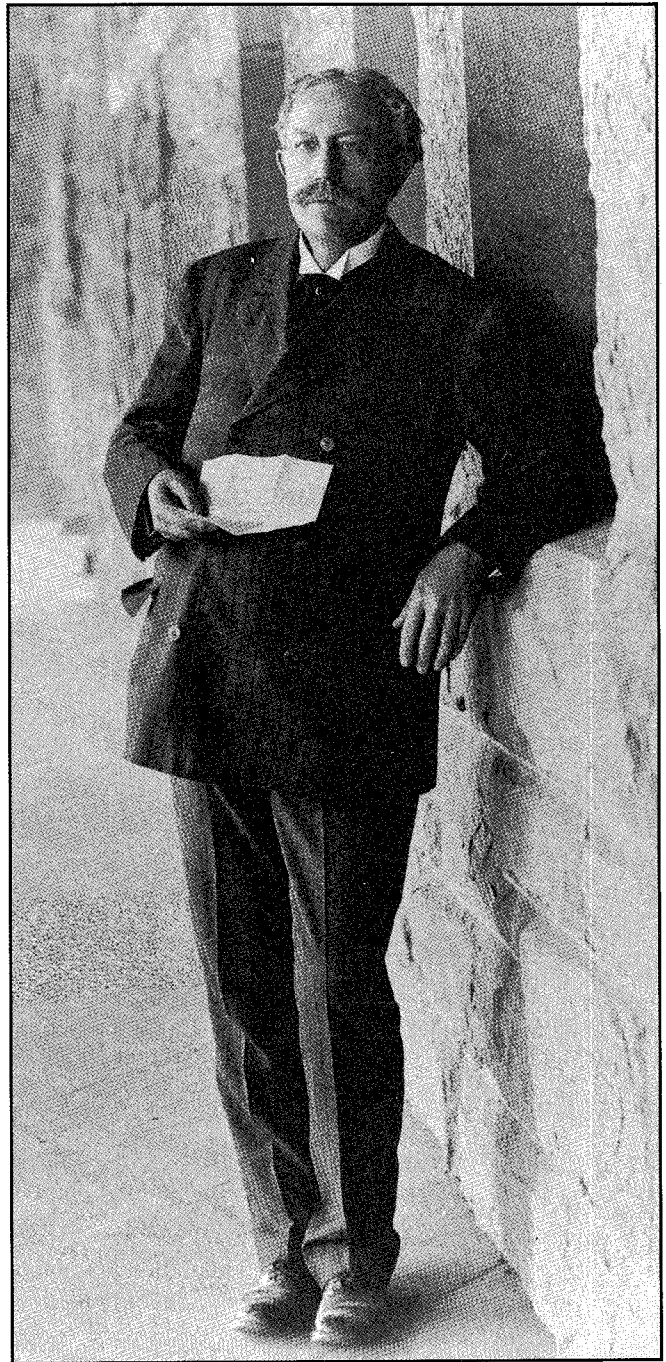
When James arrived, Stanford was a young school, just beginning to establish itself as a major institution. It had been founded by Leland and Jane Lathrop Stanford as a memorial to their only son, Leland Stanford, Jr., who had died at fifteen in Italy during a family vacation. Stanford maintained that the idea for the college came to him in a dream shortly after his son's death, in which he saw the boy beside him, speaking to him. When he awoke, his grief seemed suddenly abated: "The children of California shall be our children," he told his wife. She agreed,

and as soon as they returned to America, the two set off to visit colleges, seeking advice for their project. Harvard's president, Charles William Eliot, warned them that they needed an endowment of no less than five million dollars. At this news, Eliot reported later, Mrs. Stanford "looked grave," but after a few moments Leland Stanford smiled. "Well, Jane, we could manage that, couldn't we?" he asked.⁴ His wife nodded, knowing that they had already set aside thirty million for the school. Within the year an endowment was established, the land granted, and the plans drawn. In 1887, when their son would have been nineteen, Leland Stanford Junior College was on its way to becoming a reality.

Stanford himself did not profess expertise in educational pedagogy, but he knew what he wanted. As former governor of California and president of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific Railway companies, he had met scores of young college graduates whose professional skills were minimal and whose future contributions to the world of politics and business—the "practical life," as Stanford called it—were doubtful. Seeing the problem as a fault of the colleges, Stanford vowed that his would be different. "If I thought the university was to be only like the others in this country," he declared, "I had better have given the money to some existing institution." Unlike Johns Hopkins or Harvard, both of which he had visited in his search for a model, his school would emphasize professional training. It would be a place, he said, where "every useful art is to be taught: the arts of making shoes and clothes, or printing, carving, telegraphy, stenography, no less but rather more than the arts of music and painting and sculpture. . . ." "It is one of the first objects of the school," Stanford announced, "to teach that labor is respectable and honorable, and that idleness is not."⁵

Only Cornell seemed close to Stanford's ideal for a college, and as he set about recruiting a staff, he went first to Cornell's former president, Andrew D. White. White declined to join the new school, but suggested a Cornell alumnus who, he thought, might be exactly the man for Stanford.

David Starr Jordan was in his sixth year as president of Indiana State University when the Stanfords went to Bloomington in the spring of 1891 to meet him. An internationally respected ichthyologist, Jordan was an attractive and imposing figure. Tall and broad-shouldered, his physical presence gave him an immediate air of authority. He was a gifted and persuasive speaker, combining the manner of a rousing preacher with the brilliance of an innovative educator. Like Stanford, he valued clean living, social responsibility, and hard work. The



Founding Stanford University president, David Starr Jordan, 1908. Jordan's inevitable announcement to close the university after the earthquake led to the Jameses' early, but not reluctant, return to their home in Cambridge, Massachusetts. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

Stanfords knew immediately that Jordan was the man who could infuse the college with a spirit of success. Within ten minutes they offered him the presidency at the munificent salary of \$10,000.

Jordan needed just one night, and a brief talk with his wife, to accept the position. There were, to his mind, two risks: first, California was what he euphemistically called "individualistic," but what others might call barbaric. In the 1890s, it as yet lacked the refinements of the great eastern or midwestern states, and boasted a frontier spirit that bordered, at times, on political anarchy. But more worrisome to Jordan was the stipulation that the college would be "personally conducted" by Stanford himself, a businessman, not an educator, a politician rather than a scholar. Despite these shortcomings, though, Jordan believed that he could exert a palpable influence on the destiny of the college, and at the same time, on the direction of his own career.

Recruiting a staff proved more difficult than the new president had anticipated. The wilds of Palo Alto, far from the intellectual centers of the East, far from the ships that could transport faculty to summer respites in Europe, were not attractive to many of those invited to join the fledgling college. Gradually Jordan managed to assemble a faculty of fifteen young men, none over forty, drawn mostly from Indiana State and other midwestern schools. These would be joined by distinguished visiting professors invited for one or two semesters. William James was one; Thorstein Veblen soon followed. When Stanford's doors opened in October 1891, Jordan was ready to inaugurate a new era in higher education.

For the first two years, Leland Stanford's financial interest in the college ensured the welfare of the new faculty and staff. Then, in 1893, Stanford died of apoplexy brought on, Jordan thought, by the rumor of an imminent financial panic. His wife, who had been his quiet, acquiescent partner, dutifully supervising a staff of seventeen servants and managing considerable household expenses, suddenly and uncomfortably faced a crisis.

The panic indeed had arrived, Stanford's estate was unsettled while his will was being probated, and the university fell into financial straits. Jordan convinced his faculty to remain, even with no hope of immediate pay. Jane Stanford reduced her staff to three, and went east, in her husband's private railroad car, to sell her jewels. When the estate finally was settled, and the university once again on solid financial footing, Jane, relieved, insisted



Jane Stanford, ca. 1905. Following her husband's death in 1893, Mrs. Stanford worked diligently to maintain the university, including attracting visiting scholars such as James to the campus. Mrs. Stanford died in Honolulu, a year before James arrived to teach. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

on expansion by erecting new buildings, as if each were a memorial to her dead son and husband. Many faculty members, unfortunately, were not enthusiastic about her emphasis on the physical plant, rather than on their salaries. Jane's interest in the quality of teaching, however, came through her support of visiting professors. It was Jane Stanford, according to Jordan, who especially urged that James be invited to the college.⁶

The negotiations had begun early in 1899, a few months after James had met Jordan during his California visit of 1898. James was flattered: he liked Jordan, and he had liked Stanford. "I have been trying," he replied to Jordan, "ever since I came home, to make my wife consent to our sending

my 17-year-old boy there for his first 2—I have ended by knocking it down to his first *one*—college year.” There was much to offer a young man, James thought: “I saw potentialities of patriotism in California that I have never known before. The relation of man to that wonderful nature there is so direct. She has been waiting for him all these years and there she stands responsive—the bride, and he the bridegroom. I can imagine a perfect passion!”⁷

But his wife Alice would not allow their son to go. And as for James, he, too, decided to remain at home. He was in fragile health, he explained, too old to take on a rigorous teaching position, too tired to move, too eager to retire and devote himself to writing.

Jordan, however, would not give up. For the next few years he repeated his invitation, complicating the indecision that James felt about ending his teaching career. So strongly did James want the freedom to write that he informed Harvard in 1904 of his plan to resign. President Eliot, a James family friend, refused to accept the resignation. Throughout that year, James’s diary reveals his vacillation: leave, stay, resign, don’t resign. At the same time, he never flatly refused Jordan, wondering if he might, indeed, go to California for a year, or a term, or perhaps not at all.

In the summer of 1904, he warned Jordan that if he did come to Stanford, it would be on his own terms. He would teach no more than three or four hours a week, no more than four or five months, and would not come for less than \$3000. That sum, in relation to college faculty salaries nationwide, was staggering, as both Jordan and James knew. But James knew who he was, and Jordan was willing to make any accommodations to get him to the campus.

At the same time that he was negotiating with James, Jordan sent a questionnaire to several important universities: Yale, Columbia, Cornell, the University of Chicago, the University of California at Berkeley, and Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. What were faculty salaries and other compensation, he asked the colleges’ presidents? Were these salaries adequate to meet faculty needs? What fringe benefits were offered—pensions, for example, or sabbaticals? Most professors, even of James’s stature, Jordan found out, earned three or four thousand dollars a year. Only at the University of Chicago, founded by John D. Rockefeller, could the head of a department earn up to \$7000, and then for a year’s worth of work.

Yet on January 9, 1905, James received a telegram

from Jordan offering not \$3000, but \$5000. James agreed to accept “under certain conditions”: first, that he come only in the spring, and even then, he might arrive a week late. He would leave immediately after the semester. He would teach only three hours a week, offering the same introduction to philosophy course that he was giving at Harvard. “This seems a very small amount of service to offer for 5000 dollars,” he wrote to Jordan. “But if you can stand it I can; and if you say so, I will regard the affair as settled—subject to interference ‘by the act of God or the public enemy.’”⁸

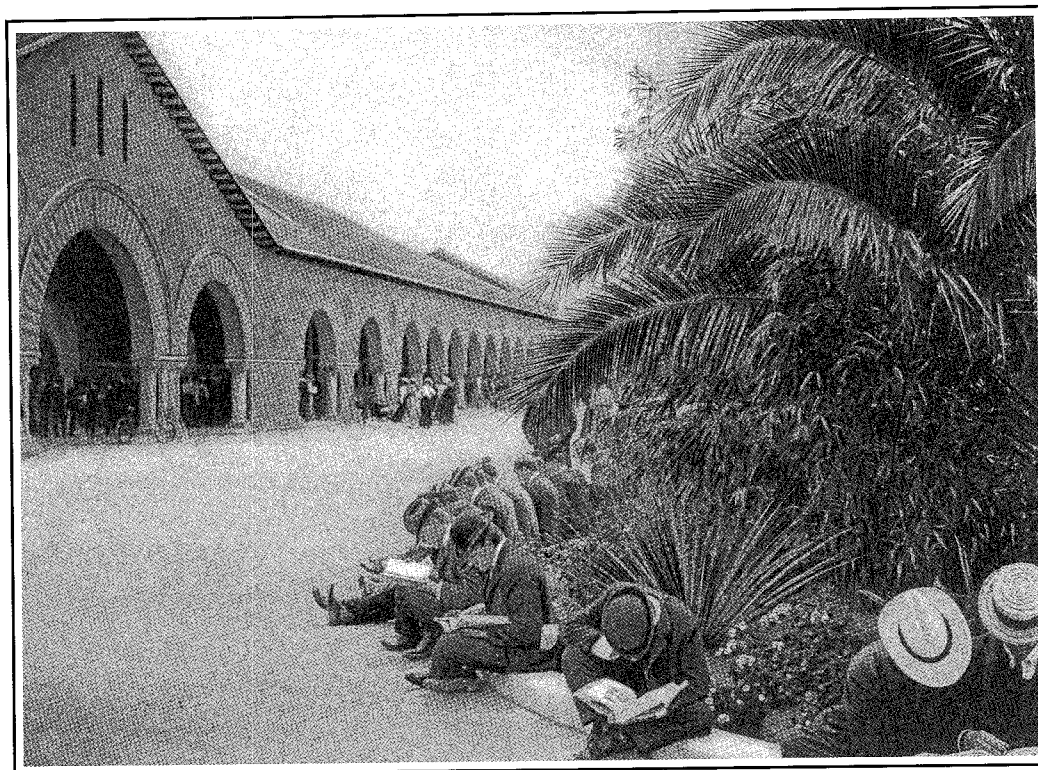
“**A**ll very beautiful and promising,” James wrote in his diary on January 8, 1906, when he finally arrived in Palo Alto. Then, in the only other entry for the day, he added, “Feel lonely and scared.”⁹ James missed his wife, who would not be coming for several weeks. He wrote to her almost daily, but she was not there to manage the trivia of his life, protect him from intrusion, and act as his buffer against the assaults of the world. Alice James willingly took on these roles for her husband and their four children, and to all who knew her she seemed content as the mainstay of the family. Bolstered by Alice’s faith in him, James found a self-confidence that he could not always muster when he was alone. Despite what George Santayana described as his “brisk . . . intensely masculine” appearance, James, Santayana thought, was deeply insecure. His initial feelings on the California campus reflect this insecurity: although he had taught for many decades, although he had given the same course at Harvard, James doubted his ability to teach at Stanford. And he was, quite simply, scared.

He was also homesick. California was vast and sunny, but somehow empty. “Multiply the Irving Street [Cambridge] circle by 100 or 1000,” he wrote to his wife, “throw in the crudest business block, composed mainly of telegraf [*sic*] poles, and you have all California. As for any *past*, you can listen and actually hear the historic silence. It is startling.”¹⁰ Within a few weeks, however, despite Alice’s absence, James’s spirits began to rise. Whether he put into practice the psychological theories that he long had expounded (such as, act cheerful and you will feel cheerful), or whether the work of teaching distracted him from loneliness, his letters, as the month wore on, were less despondent. By early February, in fact, he seemed confident and happy. First of all, Alice was due to come in mid-month; second, his teaching was a success.

After his first lecture to some 450 students and

Stanford students
studying near the
quadrangle, sometime
between 1891 and 1902.

*Courtesy Department of
Special Collections,
Stanford University
Libraries.*



visitors, he reported to his brother Henry: "I take great pains, prepare a printed syllabus, very fully; and really feel for the first time in my life, as if I were lecturing *well*."¹¹ To fellow philosopher Theodore Flournoy, he extolled "this extraordinary little University," its setting, architecture, and climate. "There couldn't be imagined a better environment for an intellectual man to teach and work in, for 8 or 9 months in the year," he added, "if he were free to spend 3 or 4 months in the crowded centres of civilization. . . ." It was clear to James even by February, however, that there were deep and gnawing problems that could undermine all the potential that he saw in Stanford. "The whole thing *might* be utopian," he wrote to Flournoy; "it is only half utopian."¹²

The problem was not the students, although they were different from those he taught at Harvard: simpler, more rustic, yet at the same time, he said, more wholesome. They were puzzled by Philosophy 1A and complained in their "quiz classes," conducted by James's assistant, that James was talking above their heads. They did not know what he meant by such terms as "hypothesis," "analogy," "concept," "abstract," and "concrete." "It's hard to aim too low!" James commented.¹³ In first planning the course, he had thought that he was speaking directly to receptive young minds and

liberating them from the shackles of their preconceptions. Now he was learning that these students seemed to have no preconceptions, and he had to meet the challenge.

He did so by simplifying the already simplified presentation that formed the basis for Philosophy 1A. His concern was not to induct students into the rarefied atmosphere of past philosophies, but to help them to live in the modern world. Philosophy, he told them, should not be concerned with details, but with bringing "*air* into mind." His course, he said, reaching for a local metaphor, would break up their "caked prejudices—like air and water into adobe soil."¹⁴ To James, the adobe soil was monism and rationalism; the air and water, pluralism.

For James, the idea of one, unified, predetermined world, emanating from a supreme Good and an all-knowing consciousness, contradicted lived experience. "Of our world," he wrote in his syllabus notes for Philosophy 1A, "change seems an essential ingredient. It has a history. There are novelties, struggles, losses, gains. But the world of the Absolute is represented as unchanging, eternal, or 'out of time,' and is foreign to our powers either of apprehension or of appreciation."¹⁵ He wanted a world that he could affect, and he urged his students to think of life "as something really



Stanford Memorial Church, after the April 1906 earthquake. The façade of Mrs. Stanford's grandiose monument to her husband's memory, completed in 1903, stands amid its own rubble. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

dramatic, with work done, and things decided here and now."¹⁶

James himself enjoyed a challenge, and he saw at Stanford some essential work to be done if the university were to flourish. Stanford's abiding problem, he confided to friends, colleagues, and Jordan, was its demoralized faculty. Stanford, he wrote to Flornoy, "might . . . easily build up something very distinguished. Instead of which, they pay small sums to young men who chafe at not being able to travel, and whose wives get worn out with domestic drudgery. . . ." "My coming here," he admitted, "is an exception."¹⁷

But how could he inspire necessary changes? Speaking privately to Jordan was no solution: as president, Jordan still had to confront a board of trustees that had been selected by Jane Stanford.

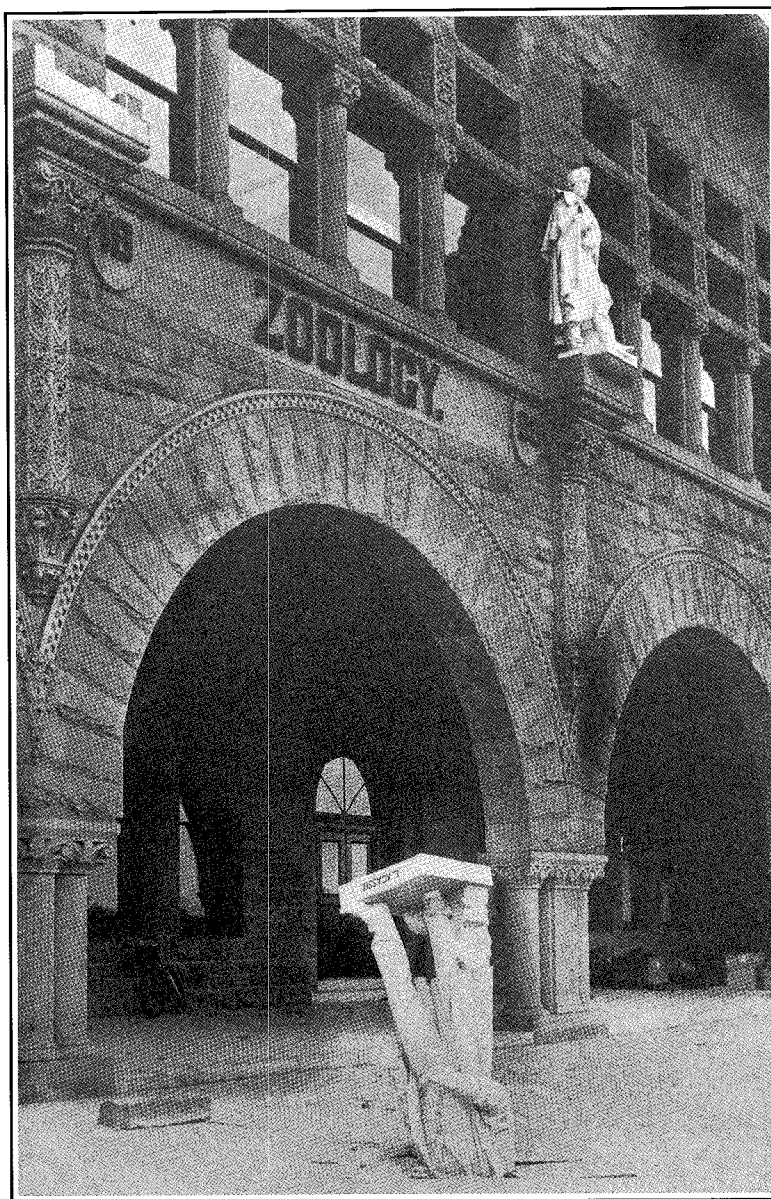
Even after Jane's death in 1905, their views on university policy remained unaltered. Something earth-shattering needed to occur to awaken the trustees, James decided; and on April 18, 1906, it happened.

At 5:13 on that Wednesday morning Jordan was awakened by several enormous jolts. As he jumped out of bed and ran toward his son's room, the house shook violently and objects from tables, bureaus, and bookcases began to fly through the air. In his home nearby, William James already was awake when suddenly his room began to sway. He gripped the edge of his bed, but the swaying became fiercer, throwing him to the floor. As his bureau crashed beside him, he heard the immense din of furniture falling in other rooms

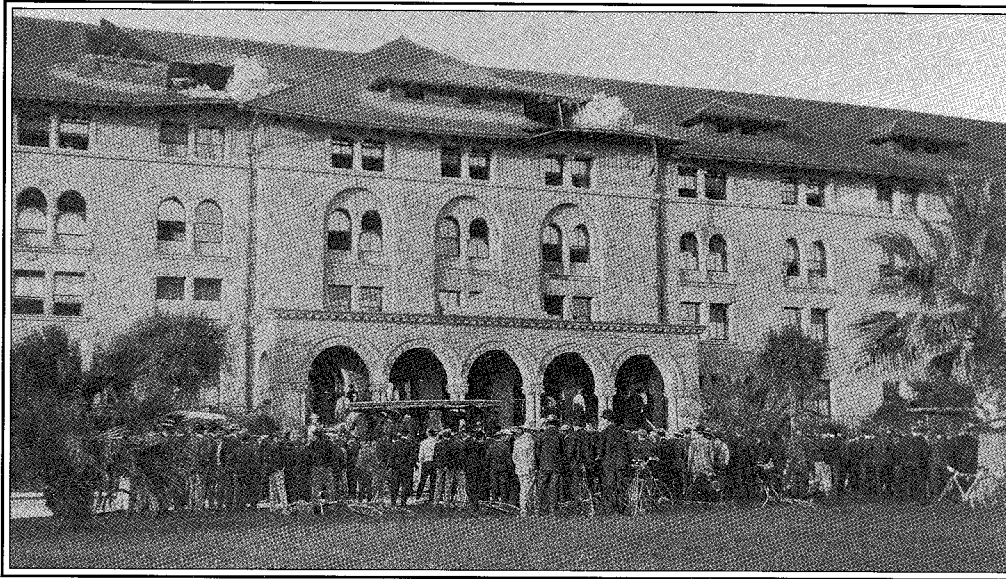
and buildings crumbling outside. It was an earthquake, he realized with great excitement, and it seemed to him, he later wrote to his brother Henry, "absolutely as a permanent Entity that had been holding back its activity all these months, and on this exquisite early morning saying 'nun geht's los!' Now *give* it to them!"¹⁸ James was exhilarated. "Go it," he nearly cried, "and go it *stronger*!"¹⁹

At nine on the seismographic scale, the quake was strong indeed. In forty-eight seconds, much of Stanford had been demolished. The church

tower, the Memorial Arch, construction sites at the library and gymnasium, the powerhouse smokestack were now piles of rubble. A statue of Louis Agassiz, the Harvard zoologist who once had taught James and argued against Darwinian evolution, was up-ended, its head buried in a cement sidewalk; "from the abstract into the concrete," someone quipped.²⁰ Only two of Stanford's fifteen red-tiled, sandstone buildings were left standing; losses were estimated at between three and four million dollars.



The 1906 earthquake's destruction at Stanford was both vast and curious, as illustrated in this photograph of the science building, from which a statue of zoologist Louis Agassiz plunged to the ground. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*



Two Stanford students were killed by falling debris during the 1906 catastrophe. In this photograph, taken shortly after the earthquake, students gather outside the men's dormitory to watch ambulances and medical teams at work. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

Later in the morning Jordan announced what everyone already knew: Stanford would close. While many students and instructors organized relief work in Palo Alto and San Francisco, James chose to use his "idle day" to engage in a project of his own, finally setting down his thoughts about Stanford for Horace Davis, a member of the Board of Trustees who had asked James for his impressions of the university. Perhaps inspired by the physical upheaval around him, James was sharp and blunt.

He was shocked, James wrote to Davis, to find "that there is an amount of disbelief in the wisdom of the governing powers of the University that threatens to ruin everything." While students seemed loyal to the school, faculty most decidedly were not. Nothing persuaded James that the faculty saw anything "morally and intellectually superior" in Stanford; he had "no sense of a distinctive Stanford spirit." Although the faculty often had been asked to make sacrifices on behalf of the school, they were given little in return. Instead, James noted, the trustees "let vague hopes of better pay be aroused, and be annually doomed to disappointment. They inspire, in short, no positive grounds for trust as to the wisdom of their intentions, or their active good will towards the needs of the instructors' lives." And, James added, "I have even heard doubts expressed as to whether they do not actually trade on hopes which they have no serious intention of gratifying."

James was careful to single Jordan out as someone for whom the faculty felt both affection and

respect, "but not so the general policy of the institution." Now, with Jane Stanford dead, and especially after the earthquake that destroyed so much evidence of her policies, the trustees, James urged, could make a "radically new departure." And they must act quickly. "Instructors have told me," he confided, "that they have given up all hope for Stanford, and will go elsewhere at the first invitation." If that happened, James said, the university would lose some first-rate teachers and scholars. He advocated nothing less than "*a complete revolution as to the policy of the Campus.*" "I believe," he concluded, "... that this earthquake has given the providential 'psychological moment'. . . . San Francisco will probably soon astonish the world by the spirit with which she rises, all the finer, from the earthquake. Why not make of the earthquake the emphatic dividing line between the older or more embryonic, and the newer and more maturely organized Stanford?"²¹

James's letter to Davis proved to be his farewell message to the university. Jordan decided that Stanford would remain closed for the rest of the semester, allowing James to leave much earlier than he expected. Before he left for home, though, he satisfied his curiosity and took one of the few trains running to San Francisco. There, he found great destruction, but also calm and practical efforts at confronting the disaster. He was buoyed by the attitude of the stalwart Californians. "Everyone at San Francisco seemed in a good hearty frame of mind," he wrote to Henry. "There was work for every moment of the day and a kind of uplift in the

sense of a 'common lot' that took away the sense of loneliness that (I imagine) gives the sharpest edge to the more usual kind of misfortune that may befall a man. . . . If such a disaster had to happen, somehow, it couldn't have chosen a better place than San Francisco (where everyone knew about camping, and was familiar with the creation of civilization out of the bare ground) and at 5:30 in the morning where few fires were lighted and every one, after a good sleep, was in bed."²²

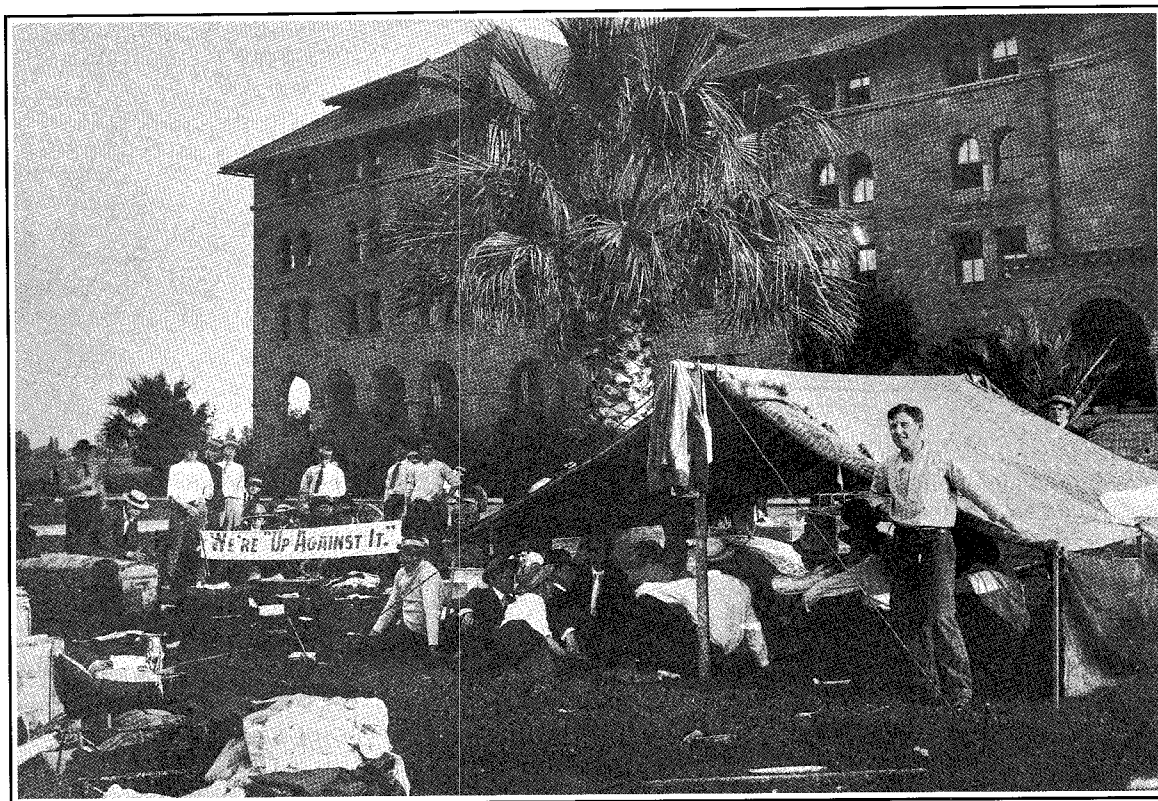
Experiencing the earthquake and its aftermath seemed to confirm for James much of what he had theorized throughout his life. "In general," he said, "this experience only rubs in what I have always known, that in battles, sieges, and other great calamities, the pathos and agony is in general solely felt by those at a distance, and although physical pain is suffered most by its immediate victims, those at the scene of the action have no sentimental suffering whatever."²³ The excitement, he thought,

was "almost joyous" and fostered a warm sense of community.

Still, James was glad to be leaving even so thrilling a context as post-quake Stanford. He and Alice managed to make arrangements to leave the next week, and by the beginning of May he was well-settled into his Irving Street home in Cambridge. "I wouldn't have missed this Stanford experience for anything," he wrote from his own desk, "burdensome as it has been, because it has been so vivid."²⁴ CHS

See notes beginning on page 403.

Linda Simon, Director of the Writing Center at Harvard University, is a biographer whose subjects have included Alice B. Toklas, Thornton Wilder, and Lady Margaret Beaufort. Her essays and reviews have appeared in many scholarly and literary journals.



After the 1906 earthquake, many Stanford students moved their belongings and camped outside for several days until they could arrange to leave the university, which President Jordan ordered closed in the hours following the disaster. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

HIRAM W. JOHNSON:

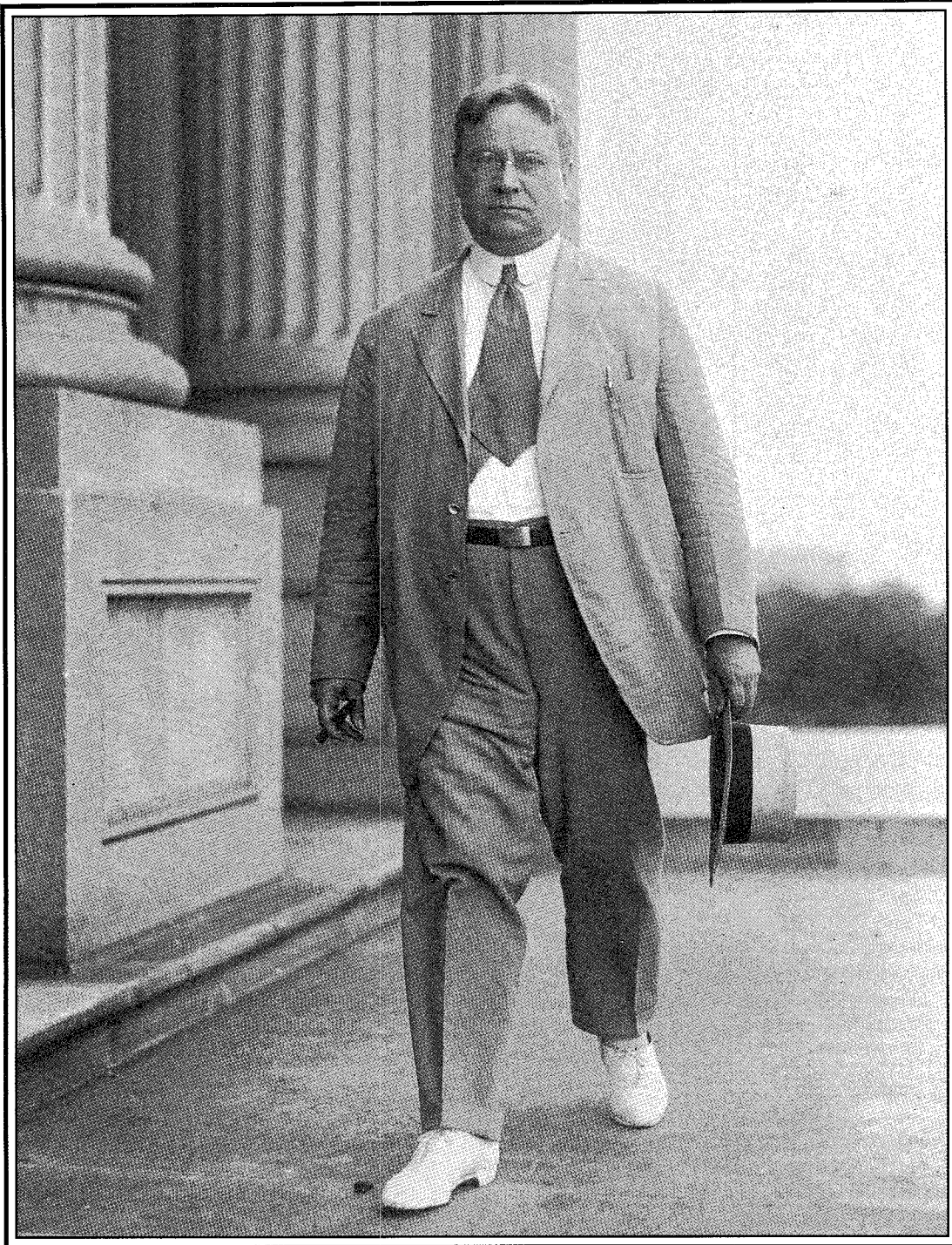
The Old Progressive and New Deal Taxation

by Arlene Lazarowitz

About a dozen of the western and midwestern Progressives who came to Washington at the height of the Progressive reform movement remained in Congress during the Depression years. The New Deal gave this informal group, known as "Insurgents," a new opportunity to work toward restoring a balance between the public good and private gain, and to continue their labors against private economic power that remained unrestrained by government.¹ In 1935, ten of the twenty-five Senate Republicans were Progressive supporters of the New Deal. They had long wanted to use the tax system to redress the maldistribution of American wealth, but lacked practical political opportunities until the Roosevelt administration turned its attention in 1934 and 1935 to taxation, attention that eventually culminated in the Revenue Act of 1935, known by its foes as the "Wealth Tax Act." Until recently, the subject of these old Progressives and New Deal taxation policies received little attention from historians.²

Hiram W. Johnson, the determined, dynamic, hard-working, contentious, vigorously independent, obstinate, self-righteous, moralistic Progressive Republican senator from California played a major role in what he perceived as a battle against the monied interests and in the campaign for tax reform. One historian's recent assertion that Johnson's claim to fame during the New Deal was his "vitriolic attacks" is without foundation.³ He helped to focus attention on the need for tax reform and to move the tax legislation of 1935 through the Senate.

Although Johnson was not pleased with Roosevelt's methods and timing in introducing tax legislation in the summer of 1935, he voted for the measure and was pleased with the outcome. Indeed, he was prominent among those senators who circulated a "round robin" promising to remain in session until the bill passed. The tax package gave the Progressives some, although not all, of what they wanted in graduated income taxes. It also signaled a victory in their battle to preserve small, competitive enterprises. But for Johnson, the legislation also meant the beginning of a rift between the Democratic president and the Republican senator that would soon burst into open hostilities. Even though the Democratic administration had done much to ensure that the California Republican would have no opposition in his 1934 reelection campaign, Johnson now began to question the motives, influence, and power of a president for whom he held such high hopes at the start of his first administration. The bitter acrimony that would develop between them was a direct product of the Supreme Court "packing" issue and Johnson's leadership of the intransigent isolationists, as well as a stroke Johnson suffered in 1936. But the split can be seen earlier, on the the tax issue. Roosevelt has perplexed historians with his unwillingness to discuss, verbally or in writing, his full thoughts on issues. Johnson wrote candid, if sometimes self-congratulatory and self-serving, letters to his sons that vividly describe his feelings on the tax matter and toward Roosevelt.



United States Senator Hiram W. Johnson among the columns of the national Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., 1919. In the 1920s and 1930s, the dynamic, contentious, vigorously independent Progressive Republican from California played a major role in what he perceived as a battle against the "monied interests" and in favor of tax reform. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*



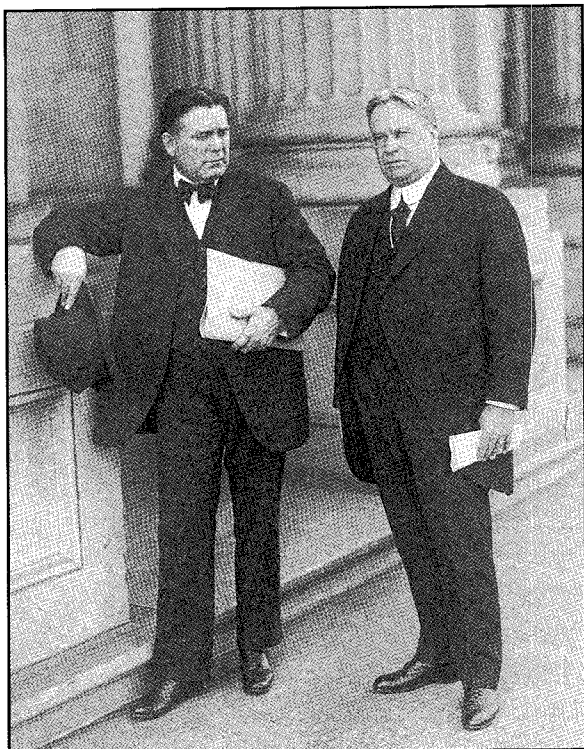
While he was governor of California, Hiram Johnson signed the legislative bill enacting the infamous Alien Land Law in 1913. Amended, extended, and made more stringent by popular initiative and legislative action in the 1920s, the "Webb Act," as it was called, prohibited ownership of real estate by aliens ineligible for citizenship. Aimed primarily at driving Japanese American farmers from the land, the law reflected the anti-Asian bias of many Californians in that era. Not until 1952 was the law finally struck down as unconstitutional by the state supreme court. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

A prominent Republican politician, Johnson won some national recognition as Theodore Roosevelt's running mate in the 1912 "Bull Moose" campaign. But he was best remembered as the two-term governor of California who successfully remodeled the state's political structure by taking power away from corrupt political machines and taming the excesses of the Southern Pacific Railroad.⁴ Elected to the United States Senate in 1916, Johnson carried to Washington an ideological fight against the special interests that he continued until his death in 1945.

The World War I years brought the issues to the forefront for him. Although he voted in the Senate for a declaration of war, he knew that the war would hinder the advancement of Progressive era socio-economic reforms. Not only would the funds and national attention that had been directed at social improvements be diverted to the war effort, but vast fortunes would be made by some war materials suppliers, while other citizens would suffer. Johnson's demand for legislation to reduce the huge war profits of Dupont Powder Works, Bethlehem Steel, and United States Steel got nowhere. His proposal for an eighty percent war profits tax ran into violent opposition and was defeated by a vote of 62 to 17.⁵ Some of his fellow senators were, in Johnson's eyes, "dollar patriots, who so vociferously shout for the blood of the land but who nevertheless believe war to be a period

when great profits should be made by a few."⁶ It disgusted him that those who urged caution and hesitation in defending property rights on the issue of a war profits tax had not been cautious and hesitant in calling for war. In an emotional speech to the Senate, he asked, "wait, what; for what?" As he perceived it, his fellow senators had "not hesitated to break hearts and to break bodies and to send men up against the gun and scatter them to the four corners of the earth."⁷ For Johnson, it was an uncomplicated matter: those "who coin the blood of war" and "who make swollen war profits" should pay for the cost of the war. For this old Progressive, the war spelled the end of the "old individualistic democracy of the past."⁸ In the 1930s, Johnson would direct his attention against those who continued to amass wealth during the Depression while the majority were destitute. He was consistently distrustful of business, whose "code" he described during the war as "to lie, to misrepresent, to take false positions and bear false witness, to cheat, to defraud, to hurt and harm and ruin, when profitable."⁹

Johnson became part of an independent and often sanctimonious group of insurgent Progressives who opposed concentrations of economic and political power. He had a reputation for throwing himself passionately into any cause he believed in or against anything he hated. He made strong friends and enemies, engendered deep loyalties



Hiram Johnson outside the National Capitol with William E. Borah, the fellow Insurgent Progressive senator and sometimes Johnson ally from Idaho. The two disagreed, however, over issues of personality, World War I peace policy, and leadership of reform movements. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

and bitter hatreds. He was emotional, sensitive, temperamental, and known for flashes of anger, but he was also courageous, incorruptible, and public-spirited. He prided himself on being among "the outlanders, pariahs, outcasts," the price he believed necessary to be a courageous champion of the public good.¹⁰ In later years, the nervousness and irritability would erupt as a litany of physical ailments that he often recounted to his sons. Yet the old Progressive zeal for protecting the people against the special interests never dimmed in Johnson.

The sharp personal conflicts, extraordinary individualism, ambition, competitiveness, and intolerance of opposition that was characteristic of some of the Progressives was unmistakable in Johnson.¹¹ He had few friends in the Senate, even among his fellow Progressives. In fact, he counted some of them, including Senator William Borah of Idaho, with whom he broke over the issue of a separate treaty with Germany at the end of World War I,

among his enemies. There was an element of jealousy here. Johnson believed that, as his own popularity and prestige declined, Borah's increased to the point where he had become "the biggest figure in the Senate, by far." He later noted Borah's "egregious vanity and overwhelming conceit." Above all, he blamed Borah for not assuming responsibility for leading the reform movements of the 1920s.¹² It is likely that the maverick Johnson would not have followed the leadership of any Progressive. The one major exception was his twenty-two-year relationship and friendship with Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, an equally self-righteous, individualistic, ambitious, and irascible westerner. The fact that Wheeler was a Democrat made little difference. Together they battled



Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, shown here in 1924 with his wife at their suburban Washington, D.C., home, remained Johnson's long-standing friend in adversity and a co-agitant against favors for the wealthy. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

against special favors for the wealthy throughout the 1920s and in favor of most of the early New Deal programs.¹³

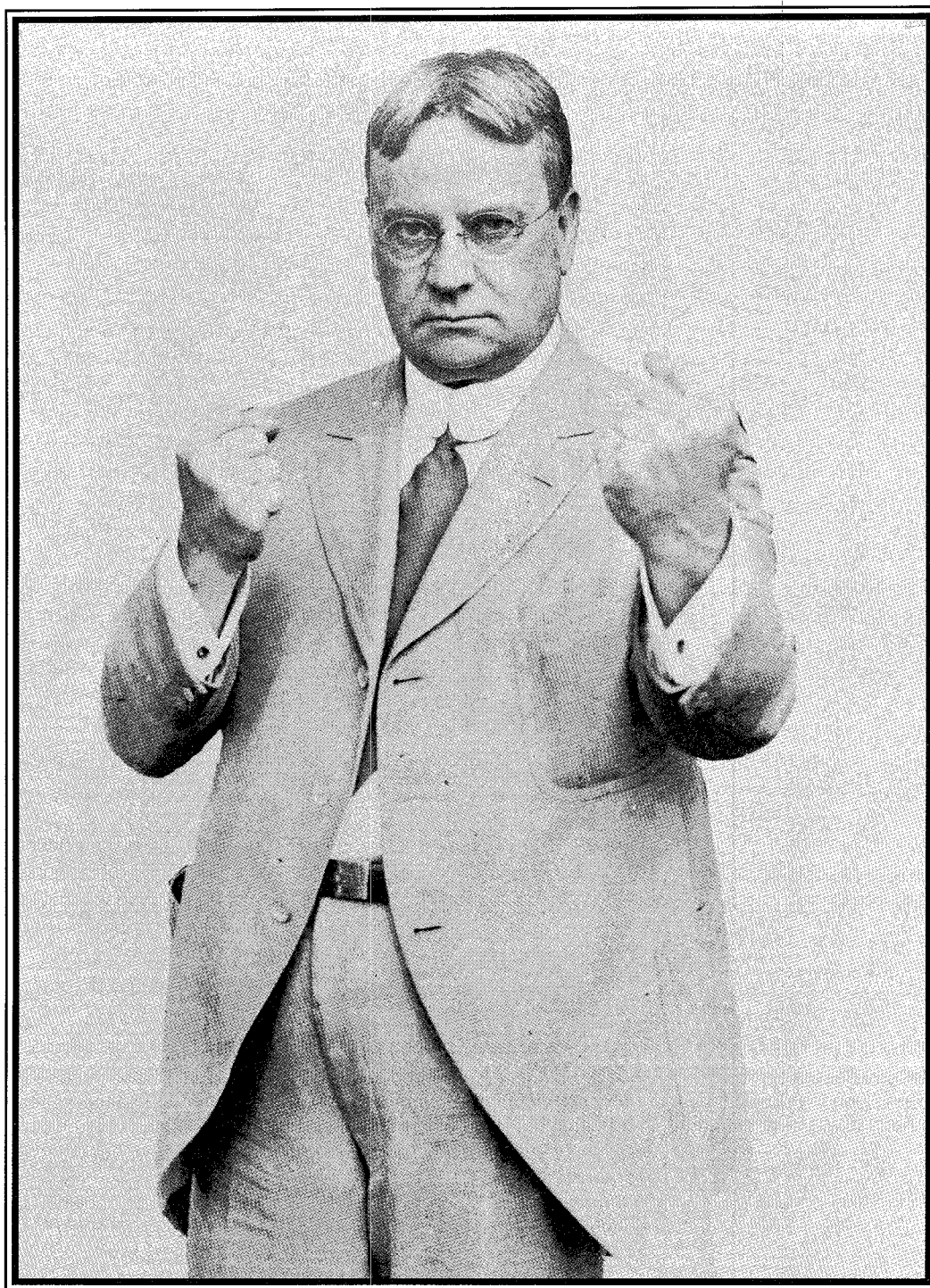
Throughout the 1920s, Johnson railed against a tax system that rewarded the wealthy.¹⁴ The 1921 tax bill, he complained, was "written with a single purpose of mitigating the woes of the very rich, and of making up from the middle class what is lost from letting the very rich escape taxation."¹⁵ But in particular, he directed his anger several years later at Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon's tax plan to lower taxes for the wealthy, which he deemed "the sheerest bunk" designed to reduce taxes for those "most able to pay taxes."¹⁶ He told his fellow Senators that "the first desideratum of the Mellon plan was to aid those incomes which are very high." Johnson engaged in a bit of hyperbole himself when he asserted that the Coolidge administration's propaganda in favor of the plan was such that had "never before been seen in the United States."¹⁷ The Mellon plan proposed cutting the surtax from 50 percent on incomes \$200,000 and over to 25 percent on incomes of \$100,000 or over. Enacted into law in 1924, the measure set the maximum surtax at 40 percent, and also increased the estate tax and imposed a new gift tax. Despite Johnson's pessimism about his lack of influence, the tax laws of 1921 and 1924, which fell short of Treasury Secretary Mellon's requests, were partly the result of the influence of the insurgent Republicans. Indeed, Johnson constantly supported the rewriting the tax bill had to go through in order to please the Progressives.¹⁸

As for his fellow Progressives, Johnson was pessimistic. He was uncharitable toward his old adversary, Senator Borah, for supporting the tax reduction plan. He observed that "our fellows here have lived too long in political luxury" and complained that "ease and comfort have them flabby." He was particularly embittered by those "who once call[ed] themselves Progressives . . . who can be corrupted with a breakfast at the White House or an overnight trip upon the [presidential yacht] *Mayflower*." These "fair-weather Progressives" had "little sense of guardianship of the people's rights and no courage either to safeguard or maintain them."¹⁹ Actually, the matter was not that simple. The Progressives had pressed for changes that irritated the Coolidge administration.²⁰ At the same time, though, Johnson was proud of his association with the "recalcitrants" who were "in a position at any time to raise Cain."

With the onset of the Depression after 1929, Johnson intensified his hostile criticism of New York bankers, upon whom he laid blame for much of the economic distress, and whom he hoped to punish for their activities. It would, he predicted, "allay the present fear and restore the confidence of our people if the whole Wall Street crew is neck and crock thrown into the streets."²¹ Senator Johnson's anger at the "crookedness" of big business grew as the Depression worsened. He insisted that "whenever you delve into their hidden practices, it is like exhibiting maggots in turning over an apparently polished stone."²² Along with other Insurgent Progressives, he became increasingly disenchanted with President Herbert Hoover's handling of the crisis.²³ For a while, Johnson was considered a serious challenge to Hoover for the Republican nomination in 1932, but he concluded that concerted action by the highly individualistic Progressive wing of the party was probably impossible. The campaign would be too costly, he was too old, and Hoover had the power within the party to renominate himself.²⁴ In 1932, Johnson, loath to back Hoover's reelection bid, promoted the charismatic Democratic standard-bearer and rode the campaign trail for Roosevelt from mid-October to election day. In retaliation, the "Old Guard" Republicans, still irritated with Johnson for his role decades earlier in organizing the Progressive Party in California, made a futile attempt to drive him out of the party.²⁵

Johnson saw in Roosevelt a kindred spirit, a fellow enemy of the "Power Trust" who had enemies in the Alfred E. Smith wing of the Democratic Party, which Johnson equated with big business.²⁶ The opposition of many of these interests to Roosevelt endeared the Democrat to him, since Johnson maintained that business interests believed "in the right to exploit government for their own selfish advantage."²⁷

Roosevelt offered Johnson the cabinet post of secretary of the Interior, a job Johnson declined for fear it would compromise the independence he prized "more highly than anything."²⁸ It is unclear whether Roosevelt wanted to gain political points with the Progressive Republican or whether he wanted him in an important position in his administration.²⁹ Whatever Roosevelt's motives might have been in cultivating Johnson's goodwill, Johnson was adamant that he would remain independent. He was "delighted to render any assistance . . . and to go forward in behalf of the presidential program," but only as long as it did not violate his own "fundamental ideas." If the



Senator Hiram Johnson, pictured in November 1931 in a characteristic pugnacious pose. This photo was widely published after Johnson made news by advising President Herbert Hoover, who was seen by many as ineffective in solving the problems of the Great Depression, not to run for reelection in 1932. Often referred to in the news media as "the two-fisted progressive Republican" and "the poor candidate" (because he was opposed by "the moneyed interest"), Johnson was at first considered a leading contender for Republican nomination for the presidency in the 1932 election. Johnson decided not to run, however, and instead, when the Republicans nominated Hoover for reelection, the California senator campaigned for the charismatic Democrat, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who seemed to Johnson to embody the old Progressive ideals. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

choice came between "the welfare of the country, on the one hand, and the presidential program or policy upon the other," there would "be no question" as to his choice.³⁰ Johnson prided himself on being a "bloc of one."³¹ Nevertheless, he did leave an early 1933 meeting with Roosevelt, convinced that the president-elect was "genial, kindly, and sympathetic."³²

Although he was customarily jealous of the freedom of the Senate, Johnson hoped the new president "would have his program ready, present it with a bang, and if he believed in it, shove it through at all hazards."³³ He was not to be disappointed. Shortly after the energetic new president took office in March 1933 and launched his extraordinary series of "Hundred Days" measures, Johnson wrote that there was "something fine in the way he has taken hold of matters." Whether or not the president blundered "in a particular measure or a specific policy" was insignificant. Roosevelt had "the guts to go on and do as he thought he ought to do." He displayed an energy Johnson little suspected and a capacity for work he had never seen. Johnson was effusive. It was impossible for him to describe to his sons "the change in the atmosphere here or the sort of government which now obtains for the moment." With a remarkable sense of optimism and hope in the darkest days of the depression, he prophesied that "we're nearer our philosophy of government than we have ever been in my lifetime in this nation."³⁴ He wrote Roosevelt that he was proud of the president's achievements and "whole-hearted devotion to his great purposes," and promised to do his "small part" to serve.³⁵

President Roosevelt had set the tone. Unwilling to wait for president action on taxation, Progressives busily introduced legislation that was invariably defeated by their conservative colleagues on the grounds that the proposals were too radical.³⁶ They made no secret of their disappointment that the Democrats ignored tax reform. The Depression, they believed, necessitated augmenting consumer purchasing power through a taxation system that redistributed wealth and provided increased revenues to finance federal relief programs without deficit spending.³⁷

In the spring of 1934, Johnson voted for an amendment put forward by Republican Senator James Couzens of Michigan that would have increased income taxes by ten percent. When the measure passed the Senate, Johnson's steadfast concern for a more equitable tax system drew the heated wrath of William Randolph Hearst, the wealthy, eccentric publisher of a chain of newspapers,

including the *San Francisco Examiner* and four other newspapers in California. In a series of intemperate editorials in April 1934, often printed in bold-faced type that fairly leaped out at the reader, Hearst lambasted the Senate for "passing a measure designed to do nothing less than to tax taxes." He likened it to "bleeding a man for his loss of blood, or shooting him for being shot."³⁸ A few weeks later, Hearst protested that the Congress had "dedicated itself to the foolhardy proposition of soaking the thrifty" and was guilty of "muddle-headedness . . . in the saddle." Business recovery would be handicapped, Hearst lamented, "as long as the nitwits and ignoramuses are in the majority in Congress." In the fall elections, Hearst called on the people to "replace the economic illiterates in Congress with men of intelligence and integrity who have a genuine understanding of the business and social needs of the United States."³⁹ Although Johnson believed in the taxation issue, he was, as one historian has noted, "first and foremost a politician."⁴⁰ The editorials sent Johnson into a frenzy of anger at Hearst's accusations and of fear for his political future in an election year. He thought Hearst "in a small and rotten business pillorying the best there is in the membership of the Senate upon a matter which we were absolutely right and where he was acting from the most selfish and sordid motives."⁴¹

Within a few days, Johnson's suspicious nature took over, and he imagined he observed "a policy of suppression" of anything relating to his candidacy in Hearst's San Francisco newspaper, which was usually one of his strongest backers. What use, Johnson wondered, could this be put to "by every lousy interest sheet in California." John Francis Neylan, Hearst's legal advisor and a long-time Johnson friend, tried to mediate the disagreement, trying to reassure the senator that the Hearst press had not altered its policy toward him. Johnson recounted to his son that Neylan advised him to "keep my shirt on."⁴² In fact, Johnson had no reason for concern. He ran unopposed in the 1934 campaign. Roosevelt so desired Johnson's support for his programs that he ensured there would be no Democratic Party opposition.⁴³

The relationship between Roosevelt and Johnson remained warm until Johnson recoiled at what he perceived as Roosevelt's attempts to increase his power and influence beginning in 1935. In 1933, he had described the president as "kindly, considerate, and generous" toward him. While there was some disagreement over policies, Johnson



President Franklin D. Roosevelt late in his first year in office. By early 1933, Hiram Johnson felt Roosevelt "had the guts to go on and do as he thought he ought to do." *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

had for the president "the greatest admiration and respect."⁴⁴ Johnson and other Progressive senators were often guests at the White House for informal policy and social chats that gave them a chance to present their views. Johnson was present at a White House dinner in May 1935, at which several Insurgent senators impressed on the president the need to take a firm stand on Progressive policies, including taxation.⁴⁵

Yet like other Progressives, Johnson was suspicious of concentrations of power, even in the hands of a liberal president. Added to this was his own innate cynicism. When congressional Democrats made an unsuccessful attempt to augment Roosevelt's presidential powers in 1933, Johnson wrote that he feared the country was "much closer to a sort of dictatorship . . . than we have been during any of our lives."⁴⁶ These fears appeared to Johnson to be justified during Roosevelt's first term. Early in 1934, Johnson wrote that Roosevelt was "sitting on top of the world," a position he compared to Woodrow Wilson's triumphant trip to Europe following the end of hostilities in World War I, a time when Johnson worked actively against ratification of the fruits of that trip, the League of Nations.

Johnson observed that "thus far, this sort of thing has not occurred with Roosevelt, but it is his future difficulty."⁴⁷ Slowly, with his distrustful disposition, Johnson began to detect other worrisome qualities in the president. A year later, he complained that Roosevelt was "not quite sure of himself, and that his plans for the future are wholly nebulous and inchoate."⁴⁸ A week later, he regretted that, while he retained his "high regard" for Roosevelt, he feared the government was "in a mess" and he worried about Roosevelt's knowledge of his course.⁴⁹ He went on to describe Roosevelt as "an exceeding shrewd and cunning politician with all that attaches to the word in its basest implications."⁵⁰ The normally wary side of the Johnson temperament had taken hold. Two months later, Roosevelt sent a major tax proposal to Congress.

Did the Roosevelt administration share the Progressive aim of using the taxing power as a social measure to redistribute wealth and attack monopoly? Much of the tax issue is opaque, with vast differences between the administration's rhetoric and its real intentions. Roosevelt, moreover, was an enigmatic figure, who often gave different impressions to different people. After a private meeting with the president, Johnson once noted that there were "some things that are in his head, which, in small degree, he is disclosing, but the important part of which he keeps undisclosed."⁵¹

Roosevelt's June 1935 tax proposal to Congress emerged against a background of the Depression, the government's need for additional revenues, complex political pressures, and the real inequities of the existing tax system. With varying degrees of emphasis, historians point to a myriad of specific reasons: the desire of some administration supporters for anti-trust and graduated tax measures; pressure from the Treasury Department for higher overall tax revenues; disapproval by some administration people of big business concentrations; resentment of business criticisms of New Deal programs; Roosevelt's political desire to outmaneuver or even "steal the thunder from the left" of Huey Long's "share-the-wealth" plan; the more class-conscious spirit of 1935 New Deal programs; the Supreme Court's invalidation of the National Recovery Administration; the liberal gains in the 1934 elections; the growing popularity around the country of several radical social justice movements; the alienation of business-oriented presidential advisors like Raymond Moley; Roosevelt's need to offset the Senate Insurgent bloc's protests against his



President Roosevelt delivering his State of the Union address to Congress, January 3, 1935. Although the president assured Congress at this time that he was not considering new taxes that year, his unexpected June 1935 tax proposal called for taxation to be used as a weapon for social policy, encouraging the Insurgent Progressives and stunning conservatives. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

tax policies; and the somewhat improved economic conditions that eased fears that tax hikes might harm the economy.⁵²

Roosevelt shocked political observers in June 1935 when he brought forward the tax proposal that Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., had suggested in 1934, and which Roosevelt had then tabled as premature.⁵³ In his annual message to Congress the previous January, Roosevelt had declared that he "did not consider it advisable at this time to propose any new or additional taxes for the fiscal year 1936."⁵⁴ Indeed, even twelve days

before delivering the tax message to Congress, he had told reporters that he had not "thought of taxes or looked at taxes for a month."⁵⁵

The June 1935 message, with its call for taxation to be used as a weapon of social policy, was so replete with language long associated with the Insurgent Progressives that it startled conservatives. While basing his argument on the twin principles that government should use taxes to "produce ample revenues without discouraging enterprise" and that "it must distribute the burden of taxes equitably," Roosevelt concentrated his

attention on the second principle. To this end, he suggested an inheritance tax to prevent "the perpetuation of great and undesirable concentrations of control in a relatively few individuals over the employment and welfare of many, many others." The corporate tax satisfied the liberal demand that "the vast concentrations of capital should be ready to carry burdens commensurate with their power and advantages." And a higher surtax on individual incomes over \$1 million was proper, the president concluded, because these incomes derived partly "because of the opportunities for advantages which Government itself contributes."⁵⁶

Roosevelt's tax message aroused striking opposition by those antagonistic to the notion of using taxation to redistribute wealth and limit corporate size. Indeed, the tax bill was the most divisive congressional issue of Roosevelt's first term.⁵⁷ Raymond Moley, a major architect of early New Deal pro-business economic legislation, disliked the tax proposal as "an attempt to put over dubious social reforms in the guise of tax legislation." Indeed, Moley, who had initially helped draft the bill, succeeded in excluding a Treasury proposal for a tax on undistributed corporate profits and for a limit on the range of the corporate income tax.⁵⁸

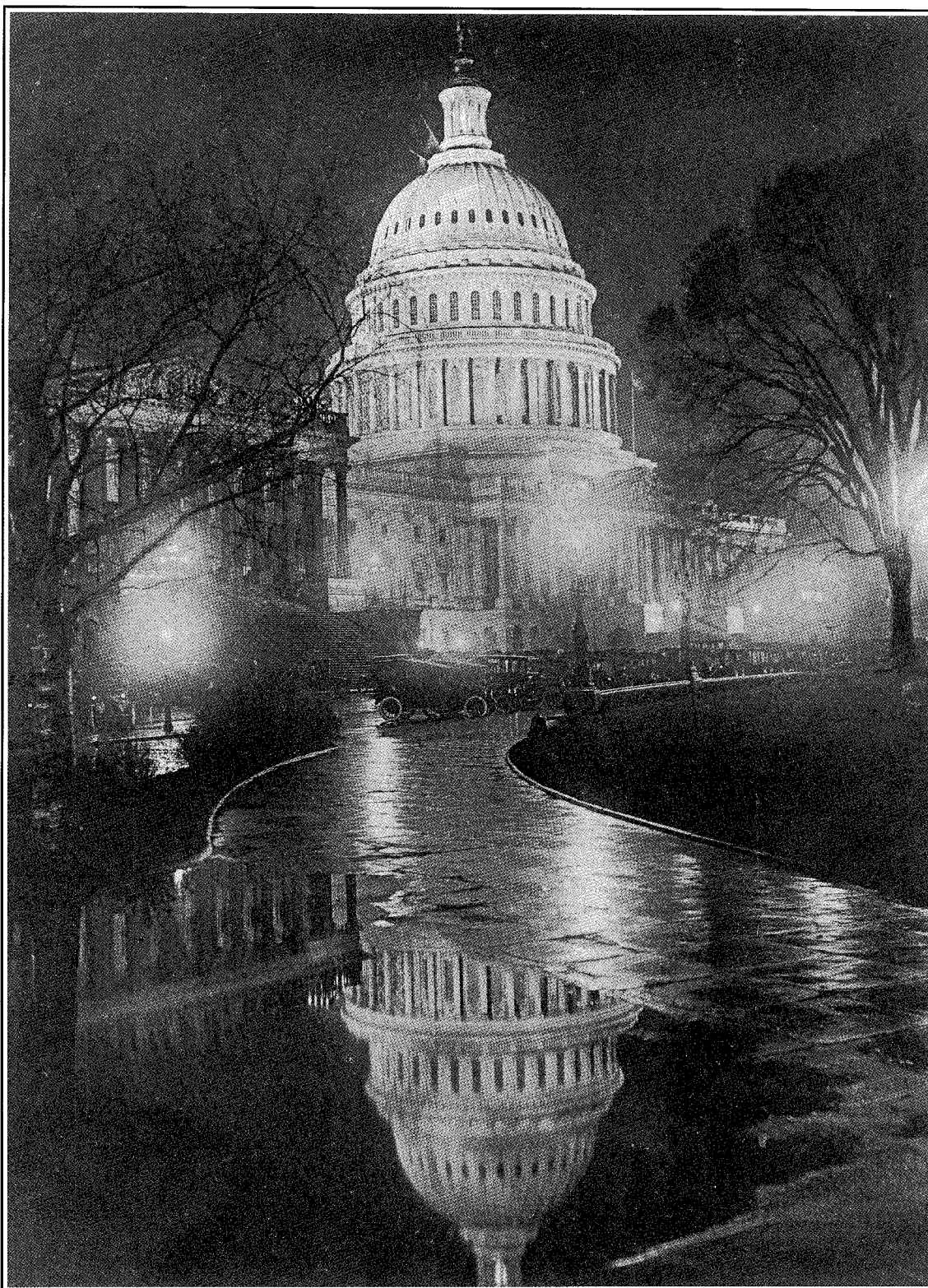
Yet, for all its strong language, Roosevelt's speech imparted an ambiguous message. It was delivered in June, near the end of the legislative session. Did the president mean it to be a series of suggestions for later enactment, or did he want a tax bill on his desk before the summer recess?⁵⁹ In fact, he told Morgenthau that he did not know if he would take the lead in advancing the proposal. The Morgenthau diaries include this interesting conversation between the two men at a luncheon in June: "Mr. President," Morgenthau asked, "just strictly between the two of us, do you or do you not want your Inheritance Tax program passed at this session?" "Strictly between the two of us," Roosevelt replied, "I do not know, I am on an hourly basis and the situation changes almost momentarily."⁶⁰ Unsurprisingly, Hiram Johnson, already wary of the use of presidential authority, would speculate that Roosevelt had ulterior motives for surprising Congress with such complex tax legislation at the end of the session.

Other Progressives, however, were more concerned with taking advantage of the opportunity to pass a tax measure in this session. They built upon the teamwork that these individualistic senators had been able to form by the late 1920s.⁶¹ Robert W. LaFollette, Jr., the fervent Wisconsin Progressive, now saw an opportunity to collect

enough money to redistribute income truly.⁶² At a hastily called luncheon meeting, Johnson, along with LaFollette, Borah, and Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, devised a plan to use the inheritance and corporate tax issue to test Roosevelt's sincerity, and thus a means of determining whether or not Republican Progressives would support him in the 1936 election.⁶³ Johnson helped LaFollette, the bill's most ardent supporter, to get twenty-two senators to sign a "round robin," pledging to remain in session until action was taken on the president's tax program. LaFollette was determined to "keep Congress here all summer if necessary." Presumably on behalf of the round robin signers, LaFollette threatened to obstruct passage of an excise tax resolution unless the Senate leadership pledged not to adjourn until a tax bill was passed.⁶⁴ The swift response caught the president and the congressional leadership by surprise. In part because of the pressure from these Progressives, Roosevelt met with the congressional leadership and urged them to pass the bill immediately.⁶⁵

This persuasion produced some results. The House Ways and Means Committee recommended an inheritance tax, and the Senate Finance Committee broke precedent to recommend increases in estate and gift taxes.⁶⁶ After much political maneuvering and amidst cries that Roosevelt was trying to rush Congress, the 1935 Revenue Act emerged a month after it was introduced in the House, with its overwhelming Democratic majority.

The act, while raising the ire of those with large fortunes, did not include many of the president's original suggestions, such as his proposal for an inheritance tax or his recommendation for a constitutional amendment to eliminate the exemption of interest on state and municipal securities. But the law did satisfy the administration's demand for a graduated corporate tax, a tax on intercorporate dividends, a considerable increase in the estate and gift tax rates, an increase in surtax rates on incomes over \$50,000, and a raise on the top surtax rates on individual incomes from 59 to 75 percent. There was certainly enough here to anger those in the higher tax brackets.⁶⁷ As Congress tried to rewrite the measure to raise revenue, it emptied the bill of much of its social content without making it an effective means of raising money.⁶⁸ Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a recent student of New Deal taxation, argues energetically that the New Deal tax system did not elevate those at the bottom of the American economy. He contends that the Revenue Act of 1935 made a pretense of using personal income taxation to redistribute wealth, but actually



The U.S. Capitol, 1920. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

collected too little revenue to supply any significant relief for those with the lowest incomes.⁶⁹ The reform is important, however, not solely in what it actually did, but what it portended for the future.⁷⁰ And there is little evidence that radical income redistribution was politically possible.

Whatever its shortcomings, the act did represent a philosophical triumph for the Progressives. Schlesinger terms it "the first document of the Second New Deal" because of its explicit commitment to small competitive enterprise.⁷¹ This idea of using tax policy to curtail monopolization and attack the accompanying concentrations of wealth dates back to the Wilson administration. The Progressives were pleased with the president's initiative, which they interpreted to mean that Roosevelt had finally recognized the combination of big business and high finance as the enemy. Yet they were also disturbed by the resultant increase in government power.⁷² Hiram Johnson shared these sentiments.

His suspicions of Roosevelt's motives continued to haunt Johnson throughout the deliberations over the 1935 tax plan. Even with his support for the "round robin" and his vote and support for the final measure, he thought the president "really kicked his foot" trying to "bludgeon" the bill "through in two or three days without either preparation or study, or knowledge of detail." Johnson began to have "the feeling of uncertainty concerning him."⁷³ He felt that if the president persisted, he would doubtless have his way, "but at the cost of a great deal of dissatisfaction, irritation, and grumbling." Johnson's fear of concentrated political power seems the only plausible explanation for his dismay, since Roosevelt had given in to Progressive demands for taxation reform. Although surely not an excuse for Johnson's actions, the oppressively humid Washington summer heat that legislators sought to escape as soon as possible only served to make him more fretful. Johnson, whose letters to his sons are filled with cranky detailed complaints about the Washington climate before efficient air conditioners, griped that "the so-called cooling plant of the Senate chamber had

gone cockeyed." Some, he wrote to his son, had "a dirty suspicion that it was inefficiently run in order to put the heat upon the Senate."⁷⁴

From the very beginning of his political career, Hiram Johnson strove to curtail the power of the wealthy. His support for significant New Deal tax measures in 1935 was the logical culmination of this commitment. The debilitating stroke he suffered the following summer, however, altered his personality, accentuating his suspicious side, and heightening the fears of Roosevelt's quest for power that were already present during the tax debate. Johnson's role in backing creative legislation was over. He grew more consistently anti-New Deal than the other Insurgent Progressive senators, and his relationship with Roosevelt soured. He refused repeated requests from the president and his emissaries to campaign for, or at least endorse, Roosevelt's 1936 reelection bid.⁷⁵ Roosevelt's resounding 1936 landslide frightened Johnson, who shuddered at the thought of the president using his new mandate to increase his power at the same time that Congress was unwilling to oppose him.⁷⁶ In February 1937, Johnson broke dramatically with Roosevelt over the Supreme Court reorganization bill, and he soon became a leader of the Senate isolationists who opposed the country's increasing entanglement in the developing second world war. By the late 1930s, the Roosevelt-Johnson relationship, which had developed from mutual respect to distrust on Johnson's part, was permanently severed. CHS

See notes beginning on page 403.

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The Political Response to Urban Growth:

SACRAMENTO AND MAYOR MARSHALL R. BEARD,
1863-1914

by William E. Mahan

Most Californians live in cities and have become accustomed to the political, economic, and social problems that seem to be an inevitable part of modern city life. But for earlier generations, particularly between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of World War I, the adjustment to city life was much more difficult because urbanites had not yet developed solutions for the unique problems created by the combination of accelerated growth and industrialization. During that period, between 1863 and 1914, California cities made a transition from the rural villages characteristic of early America into modern industrial and commercial cities. The challenges that earlier Californians faced were not simply familiar problems on an increased scale, but the emergence of entirely new problems including alienation, powerlessness, social stratification, and injustice. Their responses have had a profound and lasting effect upon the character of modern California cities.

The urban problem-solvers who emerged by 1914 are frequently lumped together under the label "reformers." Although that term is widely used, historians have vigorously debated the identity, the motives, and the achievements of reformers. Were they native-born males or were immigrants and women also significant? Was their goal simply to find practical solutions for community problems, or were they driven by the fear that they were losing their hard-won social status and political power? Did their achievements include making city government professional and efficient, or did the reformers create an elitist bureaucracy, responsive to powerful special interests?¹

Some of the urban politicians who emerged during the late nineteenth century abused their power. Reformers liked to label them "bosses," a term that is just as controversial as "reformers."

Many historians now argue that strong leaders such as bosses were necessary, "a positive response to the structural weakness of urban government and to the disordered conditions of the industrial city" or "a necessary fixture in the hectic world of American urban politics a century ago."² But others would agree with John A. Garraty: "Despite their welfare work and popularity, most bosses were essentially thieves. Efforts to romanticize them as the Robin Hoods of industrial society grossly distort the facts."³

The development of Sacramento during the period before World War I offers a useful example of how California's political leaders responded to rapid urban growth. Sacramento's growth generated problems common to all California cities, and it contained a representative variety of conflicting interest groups. But its manageable numbers and compact area (in 1910 less than 50,000 people and 5 square miles) provide the historian with a less tumultuous, more focused view of the participants, their motives, and their achievements than San Francisco or Los Angeles.

If Sacramento is seen as an example of rapid urbanization in California, then Marshall Rowles Beard may be representative of the politicians who emerged to solve urban problems. When he died in 1913, one local paper commented that "In the political life of Sacramento County there is probably no better known man than Marshall R. Beard."⁴ He was often charged with being a boss, as were many of the politicians who dominated the growing cities of that era. But with the perspective of time and with more relevant documents readily available for researchers, Marshall Beard appears to be neither crusader nor crook. Instead, he merits a designation that should, perhaps, be more widely applied: public servant.⁵



Modernized Sacramento, 1912, as viewed at the corner of J and 8th streets in 1912. Political leadership, such as that provided by Marshall Beard, was one of the factors enabling the city to make the transition from a rural village (pictured in an 1860s photograph later in this article) to a major urban center. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*



Sacramento, J and 6th streets, in the 1860s. When Marshall Beard arrived in 1871, the chaos of the Gold Rush had subsided, but the city remained an important commercial and transportation center, as well as the state capital. Sacramento, however, still bore the marks of its origin as a country village. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

For Sacramentans in 1863, the fevered chaos of the Gold Rush years was but a memory. The thousands of miners, and the thousands who had exploited them, had been mostly transients, just passing through. After the Gold Rush, Sacramento became a service center for Central Valley farmers, a host for the amateurish, part-time state government, and the hub of regional commerce and transportation. Between home, work, market, and church, people walked. Among an intimate club of city leaders, daily face-to-face contacts encouraged close personal relationships. Most of those leaders were native-born white businessmen who shared the same traditional American middle-class values: respectability, thrift, hard work, self-confidence, and optimism. Their government experience was limited to small rural villages. Mark Hopkins, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Collis P. Huntington, not yet a "Big Four," were examples of that leadership.⁶

In 1863, Sacramento's leaders had adopted a new city charter carefully crafted to give their ideals of equality and economic opportunity the highest priority. The 1863 charter provided for a government by three trustees elected by the voters at-large. The three-year terms were staggered so that one trustee would be elected each year. Each had a separate area of responsibility; one administered the police force, another supervised streets, and

the third directed the operation of the water system.⁷ Other city needs, like fire-fighting, were met by volunteers.

It was to that relatively prosperous and stable town that Marshall R. Beard migrated from Michigan in 1871. His parents were immigrants from England, but he was born in Detroit on November 20, 1844.⁸ He was an experienced accountant and found work immediately with Sacramento's largest book and stationery supplier, the H.S. Crocker Company, located in the heart of the compact business district. In 1876, as evidence of a commitment to his newly adopted home, Beard added his name to the list of registered voters.⁹ In 1880 he started his own business, Beard and Company, Books and Stationery, one of nine such shops in Sacramento.¹⁰ Evidently his business prospered; a few years later, he advertised his store as "The Most Complete Stationery House in Sacramento."¹¹ When the city board of trustees offered him the full-time position of superintendent of city schools in 1886, he seized the opportunity to participate in city leadership and served for two terms.¹²

His interests and abilities were far-ranging. A group of culturally-oriented Sacramentans started *Themis*, an eight-page weekly newspaper featuring literary and political criticism, and Marshall Beard volunteered to serve as business manager from 1889 to 1894.¹³ He joined Sacramento's social clubs: the Masons, the Shriners, the Red Men, and the Bohemian Club, and was known as "one of the best story tellers in the city . . . a lover of music and a fine musician himself." His specialty was stringed instruments, and he was reputed to be gifted with "perfect pitch."¹⁴

While Marshall Beard developed experience as a community leader, he watched the city grow and change. The population steadily increased from 16,283 residents in 1870 to 21,420 in 1880, 26,368 in 1890, 29,282 in 1900, and 44,696 in 1910, primarily as a result of industrialization.¹⁵ For example, when the transcontinental railroad, under construction between 1863 and 1869, made Sacramento its construction headquarters, the city attracted thousands of skilled and unskilled workers. Once the tracks were linked, the Central Pacific Railroad located its largest shops for equipment building, maintenance, and repair near Sacramento's riverfront. From that point, where hundreds of steamboats made regular stops, railroad lines radiated outward, siphoning raw materials, finished products, customers, and workers from every region of northern California into Sacramento.

Industries that needed cheap, efficient transportation services also moved into the city. A county history published in 1880 alphabetically listed 55 different industries in Sacramento, from "artificial limbs" to "yeast cakes."¹⁶ Typical of the new industries attracted by the railroad were canneries. Technological improvements within the industry made processing Central Valley fruits and vegetables more cost-effective, and the railroad's low shipping costs made canneries in Sacramento profitable. In 1882, the Capitol Packing Company at Front and K streets employed 400 workers to pack asparagus and salmon into cans for rail shipment. By 1910, the industry giants, California Packing Corporation and Libby's, had been organized, and each had established a major plant in Sacramento.¹⁷

Industrialization stimulated inventions, and inventions meant new industries for Sacramento. Cheap, flexible steel rails led to the construction of several horse-drawn street railroads after 1870. Electricity

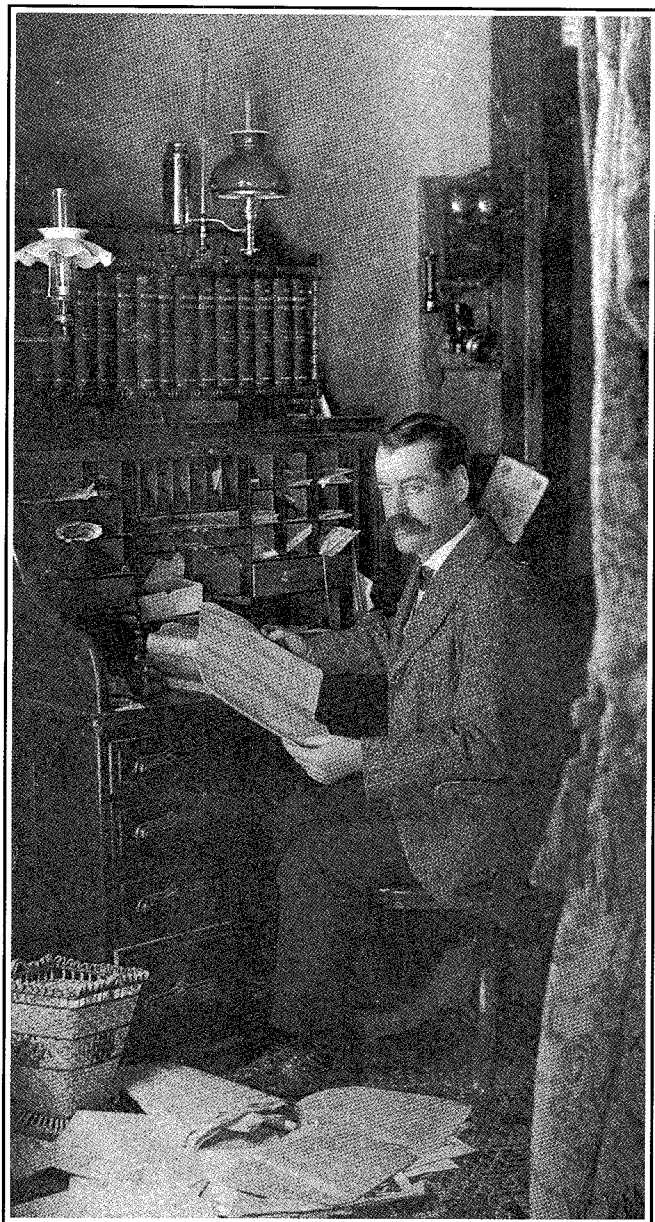


Sacramento Mayor Marshall Rowles Beard.
Courtesy Robert M. Beard.

made possible telephone and electric lighting companies. Those conveniences proved so popular and profitable that in 1895 Sacramentans built the largest hydroelectric power plant in the world in nearby Folsom to provide more power for more industries and to create even more jobs.¹⁸

Inevitably, industrial development and population growth created a bewildering array of new problems that overwhelmed the essentially rural government established under the old city charter of 1863. In fact, some of Sacramento's leaders used the new streetcars to move their experience, their education, and their taxable property into the suburbs, where they could escape the problems that they had helped to create. And into the central city moved the newcomers: inexperienced, poor, lacking any property to be taxed, and frustrated by their powerlessness. In 1880, 7,048 Sacramentans, one out of three, were foreign-born.¹⁹

Popular inventions that made life so much more convenient intensified the urban crisis. Flush toilets for the masses required an entirely new sewer system. New street railroads required much more expensive street surfacing and cleaning. As Sacramento businessmen faced the certainty of property tax increases, population statistics showed that, for all its advances, the city was actually falling



C.K. McClatchy, publisher-editor of the *Sacramento Bee*, a progressive and persistent critic of Mayor Beard. Courtesy Eleanor McClatchy Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.

behind its competitors. It had placed fifty-ninth among American cities in 1860, but it ranked only one-hundred-thirty-ninth in 1900.²⁰ Particularly disturbing to Sacramento's business and political leaders was the relative decline of the city compared to its nearby rival, San Francisco. In 1860 the population of San Francisco was only three times larger than the River City, but by 1910,

Sacramento's 44,696 looked puny next to San Francisco's 416,912. To add insult to injury, the Central Pacific Railroad (soon to be renamed the Southern Pacific Railroad) moved its headquarters to San Francisco in 1873. When the railroad giants, Huntington, Hopkins, Stanford, and Crocker, took their money and power out of Sacramento, many feared that the city was doomed to become a helpless colony of the bay metropolis. Sacramento's relative decline and its failure to resolve its problems were blamed in part on the charter of 1863, which had created a government appropriate only for a rural village. A consensus emerged among the city's leaders; the problems were getting worse and the local government had failed. The *Sacramento Bee* was specific: "There is no directing hand to the concern [city government], but three separate and distinct heads, each bobbing his own way at his own sweet will . . . a rag, tag, and bob-tailed burlesque."²¹ A more efficient government, with power and responsibility centralized as in the modern business corporation, required a new city charter.

California's State Constitution allowed new charters to be proposed to voters only after they were prepared by fifteen duly-elected "Freeholders." In October 1891, the Sacramento City Board of Trustees nominated fifteen well-known local business leaders typified by lawyer-industrialist Clinton L. White and department store magnate Harrison Weinstock, most of whom were approved by the voters on December 7, 1891.²² The freeholders submitted their proposal to Sacramento's citizens for their consideration in March 1892.

The *Sacramento Bee* immediately established a pattern for debate designed to polarize the community as sharply as possible. "The 'gang' is out battling against" the new charter, the paper charged. On election day, "young Bart Cavanaugh took a day off from his duties as Water Collector for the city . . . dragging from the slums every purchaseable loafer in town" to the polls, including "bartenders."²³ On the other side, the *Bee* maintained, "respectable" citizens and—the "substantial business element" of the community were generally in favor of the new charter.²⁴ On May 17, 1892, voters approved the charter by a margin of 1578 to 741, and following state legislative approval, the new city government began operations in 1893.²⁵

Sacramento's Charter of 1893 was similar to instruments of government being adopted by other equally-troubled cities. It reflected the views of

intellectual reformers like Cornell University President Andrew White, who insisted that "a city is a corporation [and] . . . it should be managed as a piece of property by those who have created it and who have title to it."²⁶ In 1894, J. P. Morgan and Cornelius Vanderbilt, comfortable with such ideas, supported a movement to strengthen the power of New York City's mayor in order to encourage more businesslike efficiency and economy.²⁷ If a city's problems were to be resolved, then, many felt that, just as in American corporate structure, the chief administrator needed the power to act decisively.

The Sacramento Charter of 1893 gave the mayor the authority to run the city, with the assistance of a legislative board of trustees, and he would be well-paid (originally \$3000 per year), as befit his responsibility. Sacramentans were still deeply committed to the ideal of egalitarian democracy, so the city was divided into nine wards, with voters in each ward electing their own ward trustee and their own member of the city board of education. But those officials served only part-time, and were empowered to act only when their respective boards met and were able to agree. The mayor, however, was expected to work at running the city full-time: "The Mayor, by and with the consent of the Board of Trustees, shall appoint all officers of the city whose election or appointment is not otherwise provided for in this charter or by law."²⁸ Thus, after 1893, the mayor could appoint the mayor's clerk, chief of police, all fifteen regular police officers and eighteen resident police officers, city surveyor, superintendent of streets, fire chief, all regular firemen, superintendent of cemeteries, and all employees of the city water works. The mayor could appoint some city employees without board of trustees action, including temporary employees for maintenance of the city streets and cemetery.²⁹

Businessmen in Sacramento were probably pleased with their businesslike city government. To enable them to continue to pool their talents, Mayor B. U. Steinman called a public meeting on July 12, 1895, to discuss proposals to form a chamber of commerce. Before the year ended, the chamber had chosen its first president, prominent hardware merchant and Republican Party leader Joseph Steffens, and had agreed on its goals: "to maintain and foster the trade, economic interests and commerce of Sacramento, to encourage home manufacture; to aid in securing a market for them, to promote irrigation and the subdivision of our land."³⁰

Such ambitious objectives required more than volunteers. The chamber hired a part-time secretary to coordinate the meetings and to execute its decisions. Marshall Beard was chosen for the job in late 1900. His tasks were an index of the concerns and prejudices of the Sacramento businessmen. Beard prepared exhibits of local industry for the chamber offices; with Congressman DeVries, he lobbied to bring a government small arms factory to town; he attended an anti-Chinese convention in San Francisco that sent a memorial to Congress asking for an end to the immigration of "cheap Chinese labor." The chamber rewarded his efficiency with pay raises.³¹

But Sacramento's economy still relied heavily on the Southern Pacific, the only major railroad with access into the River City. For local workers, the SP was the city's largest employer; for small businessmen, the company's rate structure fixed the transportation costs that determined whether the year would end with a profit or loss; for landholders, the railroad could siphon settlers toward Sacramento or into competing regions. As secretary of the chamber of commerce, Marshall Beard learned the value of close cooperation with the company. He convinced the railroad to distribute folders that he wrote advertising the Sacramento Valley to "colonists."³² He traveled to the Ogden, Utah, junction to create an advertising display at the SP depot there encouraging immigrants to continue on to Sacramento. He also negotiated an agreement with the railroad that established a commuter line to a new suburb in nearby Fair Oaks.³³

For members and employees of the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, a knowledge of local politics was essential, and Sacramento's political realities were not difficult to grasp. Wards One through Four were all in the city's west end, along the riverfront and close to the railroad shops. These were the neighborhoods where the poorest workers lived, many of them single men who rented rooms in lodging houses. The votes of those lodgers could well decide an election. The *Sacramento Bee* sent a reporter to interview William May, an owner of such a lodging house. "Well, you see, a good many of my lodgers make their home address and have their mail sent here," May reported. "When they are in town they sleep here, but most of the time they are working out in the county, on ranches, or at some other sort of job." The *Bee* reporter



Central Pacific Railroad (later renamed the Southern Pacific) workers in Sacramento's Machine Shop No. 2, ca. 1876. After the late 1860s, railroad employees formed a major segment of the city's population and electorate. *Courtesy Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

persisted: "Do they all come back on election day?" Mr. May was evasive: "I don't know. . . . I don't keep track of my lodgers."³⁴ Low-rent housing in the west end also attracted the foreign-born workers and their families. From Mexico, for example, came the family of Ernesto Galarza. In 1906, the Galarzas settled in the west end, where the children attended Lincoln School, most of whose students, as Ernesto later wrote, were Japanese, Mexican, Italian, Jewish, Yugoslavian, and Hindu.³⁵

Ward Five was a swing ward, not predictable in any election, but wards Six through Nine, in the eastern and southern areas of the city, were newer residential districts with few renters. These were the areas that the *Bee* liked to call the "homes." And, indeed, the area was mostly owner-occupied single-family homes, including what Sacramentans now call the "Governor's Mansion." Originally built by businessman Albert Gallatin, it was purchased by hardware merchant Joseph Steffens, and young Lincoln Steffens lived there. Most residences were far more modest than the Steffens house, but they distinguished the area from the west end.

Republicans and Democrats in Sacramento divided themselves along roughly the same lines as elsewhere in the nation. Local Republican leaders tended to support business growth and Protestant moral-social values. Republican mayors of the city included millionaire hotel owner-philanthropist William Land, undertaker George H. Clark, who speculated in downtown properties, and attorney Clinton L. White, an enthusiastic supporter of Theodore Roosevelt. Trying to end the political dominance Republicans had enjoyed since the Civil War, Democrats sought votes among a more diverse group. In cities like Sacramento, Democrats found supporters among newcomers, Catholics, and the ambitious but frustrated poor.

Two of the most important Democratic Party leaders in Sacramento were Thomas Fox and Edward James Carraghar, whose careers were remarkably similar. Fox was born in the Oak Park district in 1857; Carraghar was born in Sacramento in 1858. In their youth, both delivered newspapers, ran errands, and did odd jobs for local offices. Fox advanced from office boy to a career as executive of the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, while Carraghar, who lost two fingers working in a flour mill, progressed from short-order cook to the ownership of one of Sacramento's best-known restaurants, the Saddle Rock on Second Street. Both men developed a close relationship with the Southern

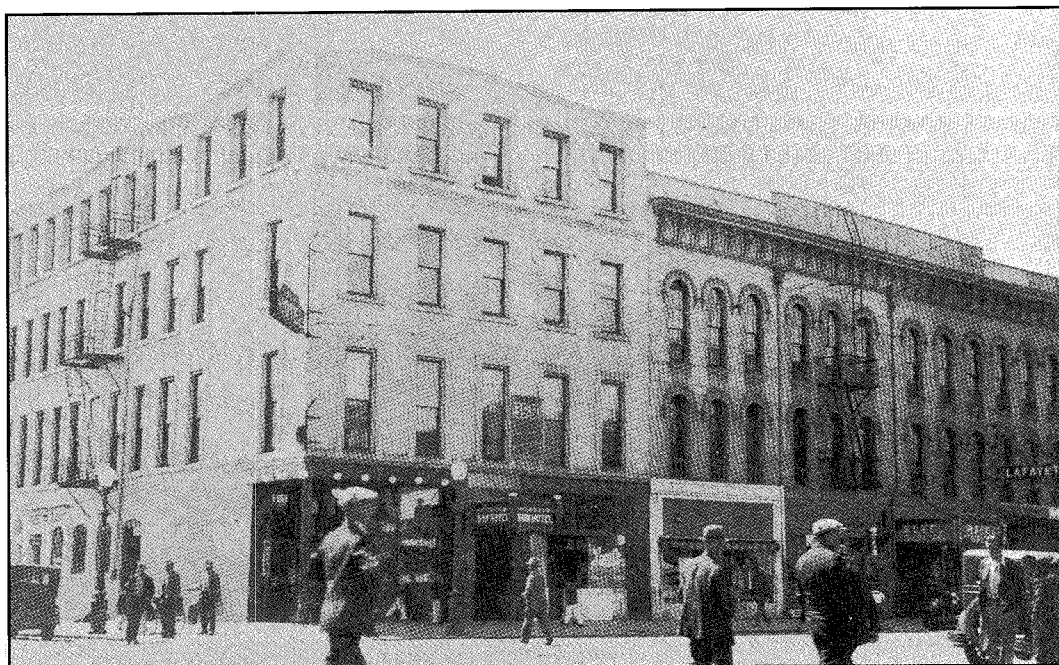
Pacific Railroad and its employees. Carraghar's restaurant was in the heart of the working-class west end, and many railroad employees were regular customers. Tom Fox was so sympathetic to the interests of the railroad that he was frequently charged with working locally as its political boss.³⁶ Fox responded to that charge in 1913 before a U. S. Senate committee that was considering his nomination for postmaster of Sacramento: "Yes, I did work for the Southern Pacific. As a boy of 16 I heated rivets for 10 cents an hour."³⁷ Carraghar was regularly elected to the city board of trustees, while Fox operated behind the scenes as chairman of the county Democratic Party central committee for thirty years.³⁸

City politics at that time was remarkably egalitarian, in part reflecting the high priority of unrestricted economic opportunity in the West. In 1899, Sacramento held a city election that typified the period. Each political party held a local convention to select candidates for local offices. But first, in each of Sacramento's nine wards members of each party held neighborhood caucuses to nominate delegates to their party's convention. Then, a primary election allowed voters of each party to select the delegates to municipal conventions from the lists of candidates nominated. If the voters did not care for the candidates on the ballot, they could write in other nominees. After the primary on



Thomas Fox, Democratic Party leader in Sacramento until his death in 1928. Fox was an executive with the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company and served as U.S. Postmaster in Sacramento County. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

Lodging houses in Sacramento's working-class West End district. Established in the decades before 1900, hotels such as these, photographed here in 1938, offered inexpensive shelter to the city's transient population and sometimes were the target of fraudulent voting practices. *Courtesy Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*



September 26, 1899, the elected delegates met in their separate conventions to select candidates for local offices and to adopt a platform. The Democratic convention had 160 delegates, the Republicans, 256. When the general election was held on November 7, the city's voters could hardly have complained of powerlessness.³⁹

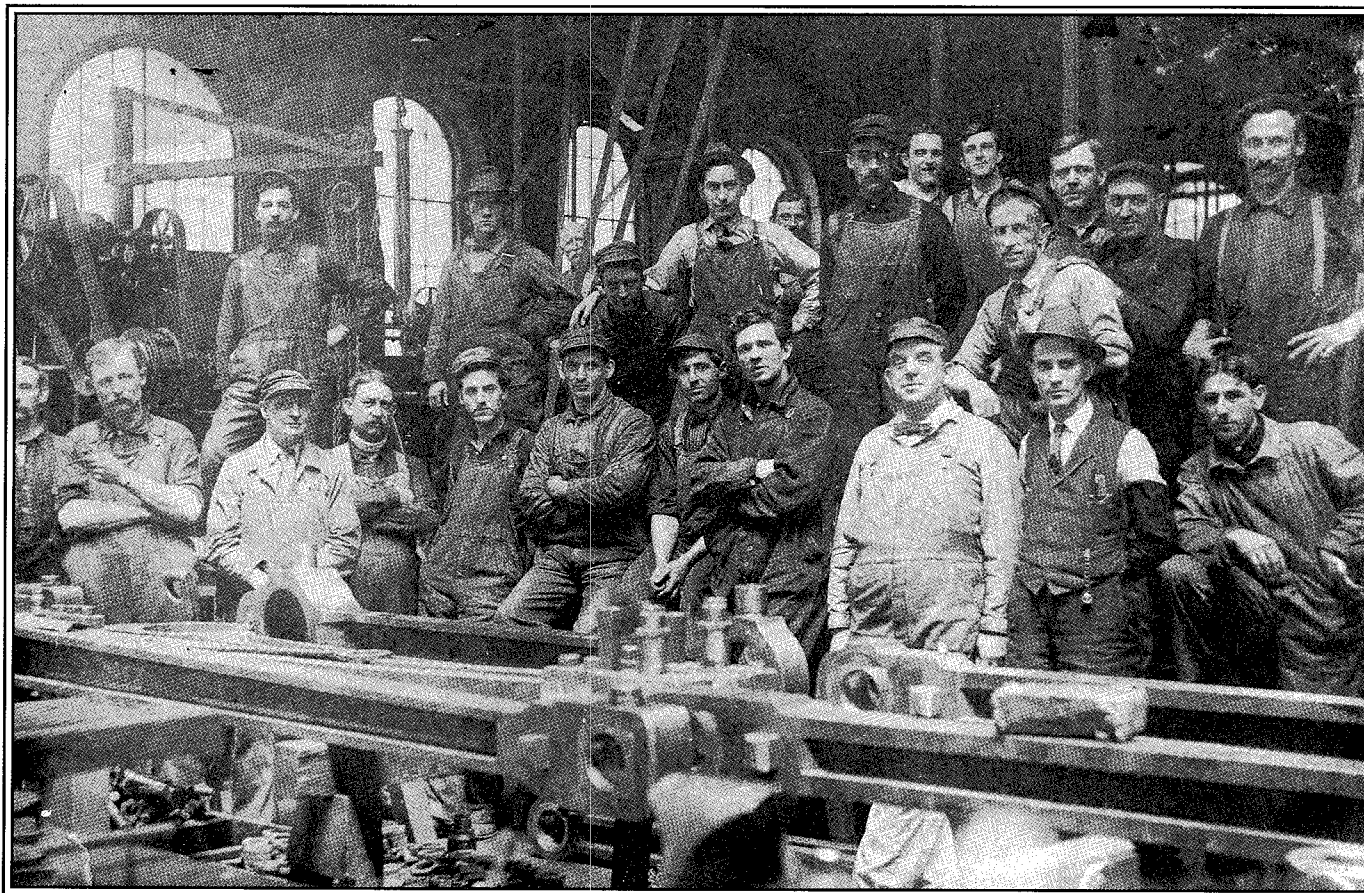
By 1890, Marshall Beard and his family had made their permanent home in Sacramento's Ward Eight, in the 1800 block of H Street. After his two terms as city superintendent of schools ended, he made his living as a bookkeeper and for four years as chief deputy to the county assessor. He became more active in partisan politics. A "Reorganized" Democratic Party nominated Beard for county clerk in 1892, but he finished a poor third behind the candidates of the Citizens' Party and the Republicans.⁴⁰ In 1893 he held the honorary title of Chairman of the Central Committee of the Reorganized Democracy.⁴¹ In 1899, Beard was elected by Ward Eight Democrats to be one of their delegates at the city's Democratic Party convention, which gave him the nomination to run for city trustee. A Republican Southern-Pacific-controlled newspaper, the *Record-Union*, identified Beard as being "among the more prominent candidates."⁴² The Democrats had pledged themselves to a one percent property tax limit, and Beard's accounting experience suggested a financial expertise that strengthened his candidacy.⁴³ Although his Ward Eight was part of the "homes" district and usually safely Republican, the Republican nominee for trustee in 1899 was young and inexperienced. Beard won by one vote, 368-367, although the Republican Party's candidate for mayor carried the ward by 104 votes.⁴⁴ When Beard ran again in 1903, he lost 345-365; a Socialist candidate in his ward won 24 votes and probably cost Beard re-election.⁴⁵

Marshall Beard resigned his position with the chamber of commerce in 1904 to become Sacramento's deputy city auditor and assessor, an appointment made by the newly-elected Democratic mayor.⁴⁶ By then, the Democrats had developed a recipe for success: carry the working class wards, reward your friends, and nominate respectable candidates who could neutralize Republican strength in the "homes." With Tom Fox leading the Democratic Party and E. J. Carraghar dominating the city board of trustees, Marshall Beard was nominated and elected mayor in 1905. He defeated the Republican candidate, a respected shop owner

named Albert Elkus, 2435 to 2200. Beard carried his own ward, as well as the Third, Fourth, and Fifth, by narrow margins, but he crushed Elkus in the riverfront First and Second Wards, 367 to 230.⁴⁷ Although the Democrats had run the city for the previous two years, Marshall Beard showed his independence after the election by promising to fire police officers "unable to properly perform their duties" and to end licensing of "all-night saloons."⁴⁸

By 1907 political reform movements were sweeping across the United States, many of them acknowledging a common hero, Theodore Roosevelt. Republican reformers had won control of the party in California under the banner of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League. Roosevelt's supporters agreed that the country faced a political crisis, that monopolies often abused their power, and that some politicians were corrupt. In Sacramento, monopoly and political corruption had familiar names: the Southern Pacific Railroad and Boss Beard's machine. Mayor Beard's allies in the Democratic Party had given the reformers an issue that seemed to prove their charge that the railroad controlled the party. The Democratic Party majority on the city board of trustees, led by E. J. Carraghar, had blocked the Western Pacific Railroad from entering the town, thus giving the appearance of protecting the monopoly of the Southern Pacific.⁴⁹ Sacramento voters were so outraged by the trustees' action that an initiative was forced onto the city ballot. Republican reformers supported the initiative, and the trustees were dealt a resounding and embarrassing defeat. By a margin of 4019 to 172, Sacramento voters awarded the Western Pacific the right to run its tracks right through the center of town.⁵⁰

In 1907, confident Sacramento Republicans nominated Clinton L. White for mayor. White had been born and college-educated in Iowa before coming to Sacramento, where he taught school, studied law, and became a respected member of the local bar.⁵¹ He promised that "if elected, I will not be dominated by anyone, but will be guided solely by a desire to furnish the city an honest, business-like and progressive administration."⁵² Firmly in the camp of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League, the *Bee* again unleashed its polarizing campaign rhetoric: "Shall the city continue to be governed by a boss . . . [?] Shall we elect trustees who are mere mouthpieces for a boss . . . ?"⁵³ The Democrats



At the turn of the century, Sacramento's economy still relied heavily on the Southern Pacific Railroad, the city's only railroad and largest employer. Early in his business and political career, Marshall Beard learned the value of close cooperation with the company and its employees. Many of the men in this photograph probably cast their votes regularly for Mayor Beard. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

were forced on the defensive, trying to explain their apparent support of the Southern Pacific monopoly. Mayor Beard insisted that it was the trustees, not the mayor who had kept the Western Pacific out of town. "I had nothing to do with that act of the Board of Trustees. . . . All the newspapers of Sacramento are against me . . . but you will find that the newspapers are seldom with the poor man. . . . Nobody bossed me or ever will."⁵⁴

Before election day in 1907, both Sacramento newspapers reported that political agents from Southern Pacific's San Francisco headquarters, including a former railroad shop foreman, had arrived in town to campaign for the Democratic ticket.⁵⁵ And on election day, the *Sacramento Bee* complained that "the Southern Pacific foremen are around endeavoring to dragoon the workers in the

shops into voting for Beard."⁵⁶ When the votes were counted, although Mayor Beard retained the support of the four west end wards by a margin of 1011 to 577, Clinton White was elected mayor with only 115 ballots to spare.⁵⁷ After the election, the new mayor commented on his opponents in the west end: "I am going to drive a lot of that class of fellows out of the city." For the *Bee*, this election was "a triumph for right against wrong; for law against lawlessness; for the interests of the people against the grasping clutch of corporate monopoly."⁵⁸

After two years as mayor, White retired from politics and the Republicans picked Chief of Police J. E. Sullivan as their candidate in 1909 to run against Beard. Although Chief Sullivan tried to make control of gambling and prostitution the

campaign issue, voters were evidently satisfied with Beard's promises that "I will never stand for anything but a clean town . . . gambling and unlawful practices will not be allowed."⁵⁹ And this time, the Democrats had a newspaper's support: the *Sacramento Weekly and Alta California*, which seems to have been created simply to support Democratic candidates. It emerged about a month before the election and disappeared shortly after it.⁶⁰ The *Bee* once again raised the issue of Southern Pacific influence, charging that the railroad's foremen were pressuring workers to vote for Beard and that a railroad detective, William Ahern, had been promised the job of chief of police if the Democrats won.⁶¹ But the Republicans lacked the local railroad-building issue that had united them in 1907, and Marshall Beard was once again elected mayor by a margin of 3522 to Sullivan's 2965.⁶² The *Bee* did not accept defeat gracefully. It complained that the "homes" district had "upset the calculations of the Sullivan managers by voting heavy for Beard," and that after leading a victory parade to a saloon near his home, Marshall Beard had allowed free drinks to be poured for boys as well as men.⁶³

The Republican candidate for mayor in 1911 was a strong supporter of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League, an outspoken reformer and a respected physician in Sacramento. However, during the campaign, he admitted that west end property he owned and rented to Chinese merchants was being used for illegal round-the-clock gambling. Marshall Beard was elected mayor again, but the voters, at the same election, approved a new charter that eliminated the office.⁶⁴

The city charter of 1893 certainly had not resolved the city's problems. In this industrializing and interdependent nation, many of the problems were national, beyond the reach of any local government, no matter how ingeniously designed. During hard times, antiquated city services were overwhelmed by an angry, frustrated

Southern Pacific Overland No. 4, derailed by American Railway Union strikers on July 11, 1894, on the causeway over the Yolo Bypass. Engineer Sam Clark and four soldiers were killed during the incident. *Courtesy Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*



army of unemployed workers who rode the rails west. Sacramento shopkeepers might be driven into debt or bankruptcy, but local political leaders, no matter how honest, were powerless. And then, during boom years, industrial prosperity attracted hopeful, but desperately poor, immigrants to Sacramento, complicating the city's already serious problems. Although the largest group of foreign-born in Sacramento were from Germany and Ireland in 1900, by 1910 nearly 2500 were Chinese and Japanese, immigrants that many Sacramentans believed were more difficult to assimilate.⁶⁵

The 1893 charter, moreover, did not equip the city to deal effectively with the industrial unrest of the period. The Pullman Strike demonstrated just how helpless Sacramento was in a national labor crisis. The stock market panic of 1893 dramatized an economic collapse that resulted partly from industrial and agricultural overproduction. The Pullman manufacturing company in Chicago reduced wages and cut production, but refused to negotiate with its workers, members of the American Railway Union. The ARU ordered its members all across the country to refuse to move Pullman sleeping cars for American railroads. The 2180 members of the union in Sacramento struck on June 28, 1894, but the Southern Pacific fired every worker who did not return to work on July 2. When law enforcement officials attempted to move trains out of the Sacramento depot, they were physically assaulted by the angry and still united workers. Units of the California National Guard were mobilized, but their sympathies were clearly with the strikers, and they were so unreliable that the national government intervened, calling soldiers and marines from scattered western posts to Sacramento to move the trains. Throughout the conflict, local officials were unable to prevent property damage, riots, and murders associated with the strike.⁶⁶

The Southern Pacific Railroad had become an industrial giant of national, even international, power. It was no longer what it had been in 1863, a local business run out of the small office above the Huntington and Hopkins hardware store on K Street. Instead, by 1894, the SP was controlled from its headquarters in New York and San Francisco by President Collis P. Huntington, who did not consider Sacramento's local welfare either his personal or corporate responsibility. Although most Sacramentans probably sympathized with local workers in their struggle against the railroad's insensitive absentee ownership, the workers were defeated and their union crushed. On July 14, the

railroad allowed only employees who would sign a contract agreeing never to join a labor union to return to work. In a struggle against the power and wealth of a modern industrial corporation, workers, local businessmen, even a national labor union were helpless.

Not only were national problems unsolvable by city authority, but the old, nagging local problems also persisted. One of the most enduring was the widespread belief that politicians abused their power. But, if anything, the city charter of 1893, by deliberately centralizing city powers in the office of the mayor, had presented Boss Beard and the Democratic Party machine with more powers to abuse. Furthermore, between 1900 and 1910, the city's population had increased by a startling fifty-two percent.⁶⁷ Many of the newcomers were poor and unskilled, but the mayor could often find jobs for them in city government or on the payrolls of his ally, the Southern Pacific Railroad, in return for the workers' gratitude at election time. The *Bee*, for example, reported that two employees of the city street department were fired because they opposed the mayor. Street Superintendent R. C. Irvine, according to the *Bee*, "was bitter in speaking about both men, saying he had taken care of them, given them jobs, and they were ungrateful. He admitted that they worked honestly and well, but his chief complaint was that they were not in full sympathy with Beard and the Beard administration." One of the fired workers applied at the Southern Pacific and was asked, "How do you stand on the Mayor's fight?"⁶⁸ Democratic Party leaders had earned the railroad's support by responding sympathetically to the company's needs.

The persistence of the corruption issue in Sacramento's government can be illustrated by the colorful career of George Washington Radonich. In 1899, Radonich testified before a local court that he had been offered money by one Democratic Party official to bribe another, but his political labors were rewarded by appointment to the job of school truant officer from 1901 to 1906. In 1904, Radonich applied for a job as police officer, but was rejected because he was too short. After Marshall Beard was elected Mayor, Radonich became a police officer, despite sarcastic reports of the miraculous way in which he had managed to grow to the required height: "It is doubtful if Radonich, who is probably growing yet, will consent to stand against a wall . . ." and be measured, commented the *Union*. Officer Radonich's leg was broken in a struggle with an unidentified transient, and he retired from the force



A polling booth at 11th and K streets in Sacramento, in use during the 1896 election. On the far left is Winfield Davis, historian and author of *Sacramento County*. Note the open advertisement on the wall for the Republican Party presidential ticket of William McKinley and Garret Hobart. *Courtesy Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection.*

to take up a career as a west end bar owner. His establishments frequently were charged with hosting local prostitutes. But it was on election days that Radonich got the most attention. In a typical complaint, the *Bee* in 1912 charged that "the expedition for votes in the Tenderloin District was engineered and carried out under the able leadership of George Radonich, proprietor of a Second and K Street saloon . . . [who] . . . visited every lodging house, brothel and dive where men and women of the night life reside." Still politically active in 1920, long after Beard and Carraghar had died, Radonich was indicted for voting fraudulently in another man's name.⁶⁹

Another continuing issue was the abuse of power by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Besides the railroad's political power, wielded in part through its employees' votes, and its control of transportation costs, the company irritated Sacramentans in a variety of other ways. The railroad, for instance, enjoyed exclusive control of the Sacramento waterfront and adjacent streets, privileges awarded by an earlier city government to induce the railroad to locate its headquarters here. Furthermore, the company maintained a noisy, smelly stockyard at Fifteenth and B streets.⁷⁰

Public health problems also became increasingly serious. Obsolete sewage and garbage collection services made Sacramento a paradise for rats. The city board of health tried one approach after another: children were offered five cents for each dead rat produced, then the offer was raised to ten

cents; a city employee placed fifty city-owned rat traps in strategic locations for a wage of one dollar a day and a bonus of one cent per rat; an ordinance was proposed to require west end property owners to concrete their basements.⁷¹ Drinking water posed another public health problem. Sacramentans got their water from the river and, although the supply was abundant, the quality was dreadful. It smelled bad, "could be carved with a knife and fork" and, during winter floods, had a "taste of rotten tule and decayed vegetable matter."⁷² The use of well water and construction of a new filtration plant were suggested, but neither proposal ever had enough support to overcome voter resistance to higher taxes.

Dangerous and frequently impassable streets was another "Local Question That Will Not Down," according to the *Record-Union*.⁷³ Sacramento streets had always been straight and wide enough, but neither technology nor city revenue kept pace with the increasing traffic. Although the original compacted dirt streets were gradually surfaced with logs and gravel, they were rough and dusty in the dry summer months. During the winter rainy season, travelers might sink up to their waists in mud. The city lacked funds to clean most streets more than twice a year, a serious problem when between eight and ten tons of animal droppings were deposited on city streets daily.

Yet another local issue continued to frustrate many Sacramentans: vice. Census statistics should have reminded reformers of the basic problem:

Sacramento had always been a city of lonely single men. The Gold Rush era census of 1850 set the pattern: 6,169 men and only 460 women, a general imbalance that persisted into the twentieth century. For example, in 1900, of 6,723 foreign-born Sacramentans, 4,313 were men and only 2,410 were women.⁷⁴ For lonely men, many of whom worked long hours at unskilled physical labor and saved their low earnings to bring relatives to join them, social opportunities in Sacramento were limited. Nevertheless, for native Sacramentans, census statistics did not satisfy complaints about prostitution, gambling, and all-night bars. Temperance leaders tried to limit drinking hours and keep bars out of the "homes" area, but reforms were regularly defeated by what the native Sacramentans called the "saloon vote." The chief of police and the board of health organized regular campaigns against illegal gambling, but along I Street in Chinatown, "Almost every other house inspected . . . was either a gambling joint, an opium joint or a lottery joint." And the dance halls, even though licensed by the city, were " . . . a school of degradation, wherein are taught and acquired the habit and mode of living and the shameless vices of the harlot."⁷⁵ For many residents, vice seemed to be the product of Mayor Beard's corrupt alliance with west end transients: he satisfied their immoral and illegal needs in exchange for their votes. An honest mayor would enforce the law.

Perhaps the most fundamental grievance of many Sacramento people was that they had lost control of their city. As political and economic power moved to San Francisco, where it appeared to be exercised by the officers of the Southern Pacific Railroad, local citizens became united in frustration and outsiders became scapegoats. That frustration can be seen in blatant discrimination in the city against the Chinese. The charter of 1893, for example, prohibited the city from employing Chinese workers or buying products made by Chinese labor.⁷⁶

To try to regain control of their community, Sacramentans in 1903 added the initiative and referendum to the city charter.⁷⁷ The initiative process was then used to amend the charter to end the practice of electing each city trustee from the ward in which he lived. Instead, all trustees would be elected "at-large." With "at-large" elections, west end working-class wards, out-voted in competition with more numerous residents of middle-class wards, could no longer place their favorites on the city board of trustees.

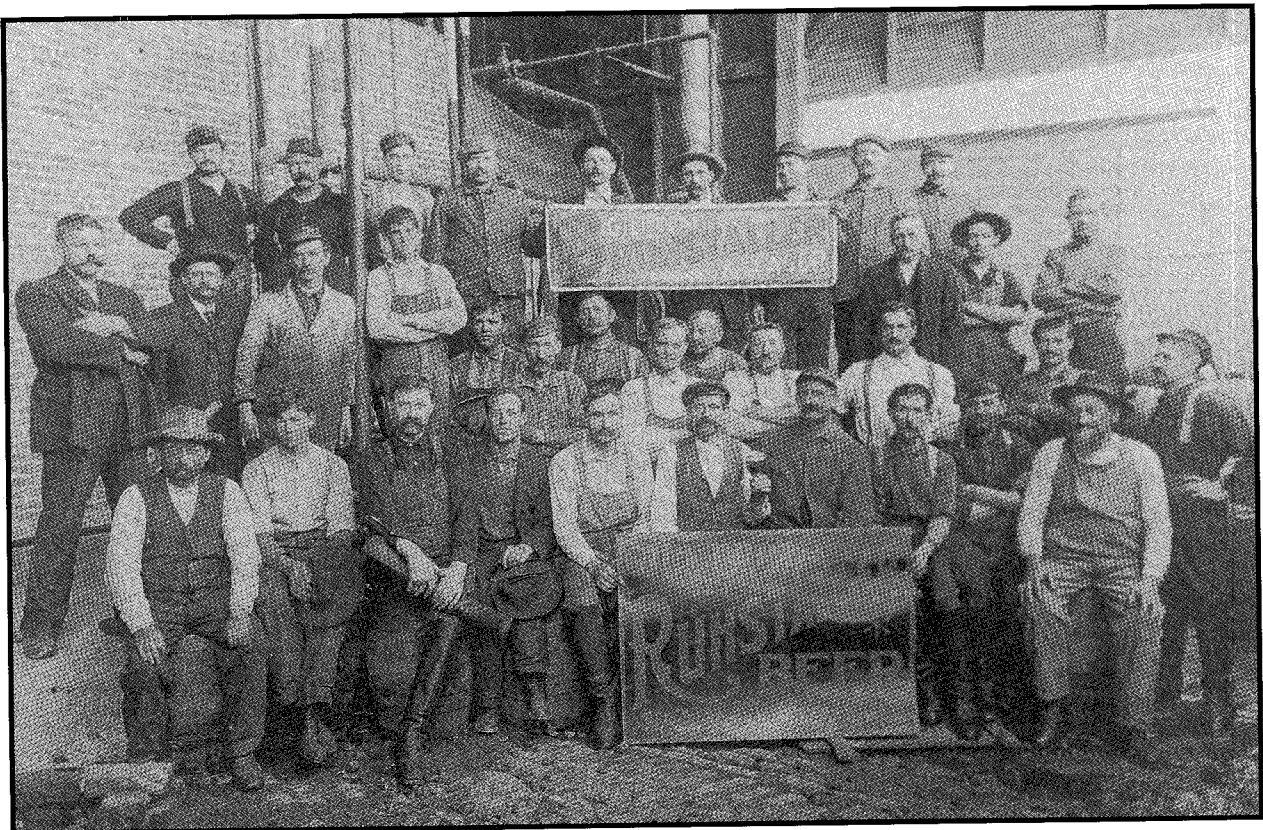
The strong-mayor charter of 1893 had proved to be as much of a failure at resolving urban problems as the charter of 1863. The cause of the problems and the approach to reform generated as much controversy among Sacramentans as it did elsewhere in America. Reformers, most of whom were middle- or upper-class, agreed that the basic structure of local government was flawed and that changes were necessary. Some, often called "structural reformers," believed that simply by modernizing Sacramento government, corrupt politicians would be replaced by trained professionals, who could be entrusted with resolving such essentially technical issues as budgets, tax rates, and street maintenance. Other reformers believed that the city's problems were moral ones: Boss Beard, in permitting prostitution, gambling, and alcoholism, was exploiting the sinful side of human nature for his own personal political power. Thus, by defeating Beard and the immoral forces that he represented, corrupt behavior would decline. The moral reformers and the structural reformers were united by their abhorrence of social disorder. But another group of reformers believed that the basic problem was not disorder, but injustice: Sacramento's problems were inherent in the social and economic system and no issues could be resolved until such social reforms as economic justice, equal opportunity, and more public participation in decision-making were all given a higher priority.⁷⁸

Structural reformers, moral reformers, and social reformers in Sacramento agreed that Mayor Marshall Beard was a boss and that he and his machine based on working-class votes had to go. Mayor Beard had, they argued, abused the power of his office by trading city jobs for votes; in 1912, for example, he put forty transients to work in the city cemetery just before a crucial election.⁷⁹ Critics also charged that he had deliberately strengthened the Democratic Party machine by providing favored treatment to special interests. Such favoritism seemed to be proved by the support given to the Democratic Party by the Southern Pacific Railroad, by the Ruhstaller family, prominent local brewers, and by the well-known suburban real estate developer, D. W. Carmichael. Once Boss Beard and his Democratic machine were defeated, according to reformers, the city could again respond to the needs of local business leaders who understood that city government should be businesslike and promote growth and efficient, economical services.⁸⁰

In vain did Marshall Beard attempt to refute the reformers. He insisted that he was himself a successful and respected local businessman, who served regularly on the board of directors of the chamber of commerce.⁸¹ He responded to the charge that he had allowed immoral activities in the west end by noting that even after Republican reformer Clinton White had been mayor for two years, illegal lottery tickets could still be openly purchased in Sacramento.⁸² Beard insisted that during his tenure, the city had benefitted from many valuable improvements, including new bridges across the Sacramento River at M Street and across the American River at Twelfth Street and at H Street, Sacramento's present city hall, the purchase of 640 acres in the Haggin Grant for a new city park, an interurban railroad connecting Sacramento to Chico and Oakland, and a modern new building for the city's 800 high school students.⁸³ And, although the voters in Sacramento had not always approved,

Beard favored bonds for a new water filtration plant, supported public ownership of street railways and electricity, endorsed tree trimming at city expense, and, ironically, supported a "new charter . . . framed along modern lines. . . ."⁸⁴ To the charge that he had filled offices with his cronies, the mayor could point to popular fire chief Henry A. Guthrie, who professionalized the department and was kept in office from 1889 until he retired in 1910.⁸⁵ In fact, one leader of the reformers conceded that after Beard had been mayor, "there has not been much graft for some time . . . [and] . . . Mr. Beard is a good man."⁸⁶ Residents in areas adjacent to Sacramento evidently agreed, because in 1911 they voted to annex themselves to the city,

Employees of the Ruhstaller Brewery, Sacramento, just prior to 1900. Brewers and their workers formed another bloc of support for Mayor Marshall Beard. Beard's tolerance of saloons won the Ruhstaller family's active support of Democratic Party leaders. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*



thereby tripling its area. And when the Southern Pacific monopoly was broken by the first Western Pacific train to enter Sacramento, Mayor Beard was prominent among the welcomers: "... we have waited a long time for your coming. From this day Sacramento will move forward."⁸⁷ Evidently, as one reformer conceded, "... if public improvement becomes a majority's goal, then the political boss is among the first to catch and hold it."⁸⁸

Nationally, the reformers' desire to make cities more businesslike and efficient led them to experiment with new forms of city government. When Galveston, Texas, experienced a catastrophic flood, that city had successfully responded to the crisis by turning the city over to an appointed (later elected) commission. Each member of the commission was expected to become an expert on a particular function of city government and then to exercise that expertise in a non-partisan, professional manner. The commission worked so well in Galveston that reformers in other cities, including Berkeley and Oakland, California, adopted it.

In June of 1911, when Sacramento voters selected freeholders to write another new charter, all fifteen favored the commission idea.⁸⁹ The freeholders decided that five commissioners would be needed, one for each of the basic functions of city government (public works, streets, public health and safety, education, finance). Bossism would be eliminated by making each commissioner equal in power and salary. The \$3600 annual salary was considered adequate to commit the commissioners to full-time public service, independent of special interests and voting blocs. Machine politics, along with considerable working-class power, would also be curbed by making elections non-partisan and by electing each commissioner at large. Reformers even included their new weapons, the initiative, referendum, and recall.⁹⁰ Indeed, the proposed new charter satisfied not only the structural and moral reformers, but also the social reformers: Berkeley's socialist mayor, J. Stitt Wilson, came to Sacramento and urged Sacramento voters to approve it. On November 7, 1911, at the same election that they were re-electing Marshall Beard under the 1893 charter, voters replaced that "strong-mayor" charter with the new commission charter.

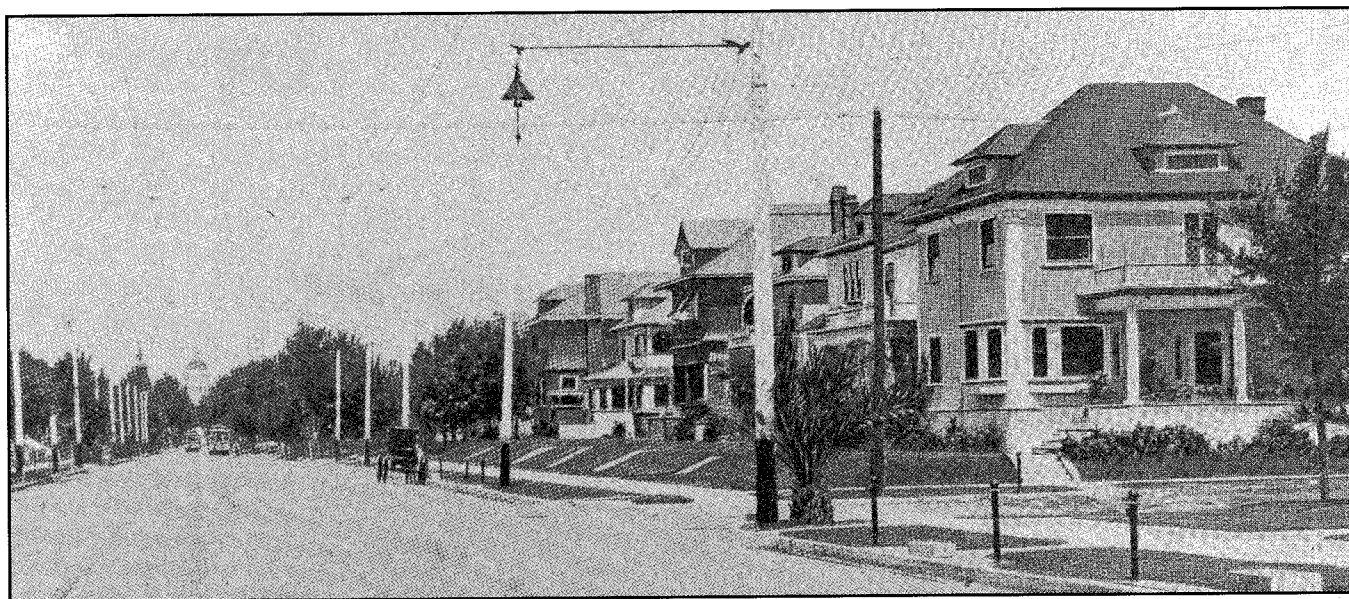
Once the new commission form was approved, the real battle began: choosing the commissioners. A reform-oriented Municipal Voters League

endorsed four candidates. The *Bee* supported the League's endorsements and once again sought to polarize public opinion: "The question is between the forces of the Machine and the forces of Good Government." According to the *Bee*, candidates endorsed by "the Machine" included Marshall Beard and E. J. Carraghar. Despite the opposition of the League and the *Bee*, in the primary field of 35 candidates, Carraghar and Beard ran first and second.⁹¹

Between the primary early in May and the run-off election, the *Bee* charged that Mayor Beard used his power to "pad Cemetery payrolls" with forty or so unemployed men who were expected to repay him with votes. But no one questioned the legality of the mayor's action, and some historians would defend it as healthy urban politics, an example of "... a kind of ram-shackle welfare state ... [that] ... helped the unemployed find jobs."⁹²

Meanwhile, the Municipal Voters' League made two significant adjustments between the primary and the general election. First, the league endorsed Michael J. Burke, a candidate already endorsed by the Federated Trades Council, a labor organization. Burke was an attractive candidate who had lived in Sacramento since his childhood and had been regularly elected to the city board of trustees between 1900 and 1912. More important, he would appeal to those voters who would normally support Beard and Carraghar; he was Catholic, a Democrat, a union member, a blacksmith, and an employee of the Southern Pacific Railroad.⁹³ Second, the league appealed to the newly enfranchised women voters by endorsing Mrs. A. J. Johnston for commissioner. The strategy worked perfectly. All five of the league's endorsed candidates were elected to the commission. Burke got the most votes, and Mrs. Johnston ran fifth. Carraghar and Beard ran sixth and seventh, out of the money.⁹⁴ Using a combination of constitutional change and clever electoral politics, elite reformers had overturned a generation of working-class oriented, machine-dominated government in Sacramento.

Marshall Beard handled what would be his final defeat gracefully. "I have the kindest feelings for the citizens of Sacramento, and when I retire it will be with gratitude"⁹⁵ Even before he left the mayor's office, he was appointed to complete the term of the county treasurer, who had died in office. When Marshall Rowles Beard died of a stroke on September 29, 1913, he was still faithfully serving the citizens of Sacramento. The *Sacramento Union*



The "Homes" area of Sacramento before 1900, seen from the corner of 24th and M streets, looking west. Hitching posts for horses line the curb, and the State Capitol can be seen in the background. Often voting in opposition to worker-dominated industrial and waterfront wards, such middle-class neighborhoods provided the political strength to pass Progressive-era city charter revisions and to elect reform-minded candidates. *Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

had never been his ally, but in its obituary the newspaper called Beard, "a politician of the old school, a man of polished manner and gentle ways." "His name was never connected with any but honorable methods. His worst political enemies respected him however greatly they differed with him in opinion."⁹⁶

Unfortunately, the most publicized urban politicians of that period had corrupted their city's political system, abused their powers, and accumulated conspicuous personal wealth. William Tweed of New York, Frank Hague of Jersey City, Ed Crump of Memphis, and Abe Ruef of San Francisco are among the more spectacular examples of that pattern.⁹⁷

Marshall Beard presents an example of a different sort, one that may be more common than we have previously recognized. He sought and won political power, but he never benefitted financially. The modest increase in his taxable family property was no more than what was attributable to inflation.⁹⁸ He held political power from 1893 until

his death in 1913 because he was able to unite important groups of Sacramento voters, including transients, the working class, his middle-class neighbors, and important special interests such as the Southern Pacific. Marshall Beard was a public servant whose exercise of political power contributed to the stability that Sacramento needed as it groped for solutions to staggering new challenges. His career may be more typical than historians have believed.

During the decisive period between the end of the Civil War and the start of World War I, Sacramento was like many California cities that were experiencing dramatic change. In 1863 it was still a rural village where such traditional western values as individualism and economic opportunity were reflected in the city charter of 1863, a government by committee with power carefully divided in order to check potential abuse. In subsequent decades, industrialization, spectacularly exemplified by the transcontinental railroad, created serious new problems that seemed to require the centralized leadership that the charter of 1893 granted to a strong mayor. But after 1893, as growth accelerated and the problems persisted, local voters decided to turn city government over to the same type of non-partisan professionals who led American business, and a city commission was inaugurated with the charter of 1911. When the commission proved impractical, Sacramento in 1921

would perpetuate the principal of non-partisan professional government by creating the city manager system still in use today.⁹⁹ Thus, by trial and error, Sacramentans had completed the urban revolution; a rural village became a modern metropolis and personalized government was replaced by bureaucracy.

As in many California cities, the reform movement was spearheaded by people who considered themselves "Progressives." They believed that progress was inevitable and that urban problems were temporary, unnatural aberrations. Disorder was caused by immigrants and radicals, injustice by bosses and monopolies. The Progressives were certain that the problems could be solved by placing businesslike professionals in government. And predictably, by 1923, the Sacramento city manager and all nine council members were members of the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce.

Evidence from the growth of Sacramento and the political career of Marshall Beard challenges those Progressive assumptions. The history of California cities does not prove that progress is inevitable. And the urban problems of public health, abuse of power, vice, crime, and injustice do not seem to have been solved by either bureaucrats or

businessmen, bosses or reformers. To the extent that Californians have learned how to deal effectively with urban problems, they have discovered that positive action is most likely when a consensus of the community supports it. During the transition period between the Civil War and the First World War, when the future of Sacramento and other California cities was being shaped, Marshall Beard's financial training, political experience, and personal skills were particularly well-suited for creating that consensus. If there are positive benefits in California's continuing urban crisis, one may be that the conflicts and tensions provide a training ground for political leaders like Marshall Beard. CHS

See notes beginning on page 405.

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The Politics of a Lost Cause:

"Seceshers" and Democrats in Southern California During the Civil War

by Ronald C. Woolsey

The Civil War era presents an opportunity to view the southern California frontier in broad perspective. The national conflict interrupted a period of gradual settlement there. The locale mirrored national and regional concerns, reflected sectional tensions, and affirmed the nexus between pioneer and country. The conduct of the war also highlighted the strong link between East and West, and with the fortunes of war went the fate of local party politics. Thus, as the Confederate military presence faded in the southwest, the effectiveness of disunion rhetoric correspondingly declined.

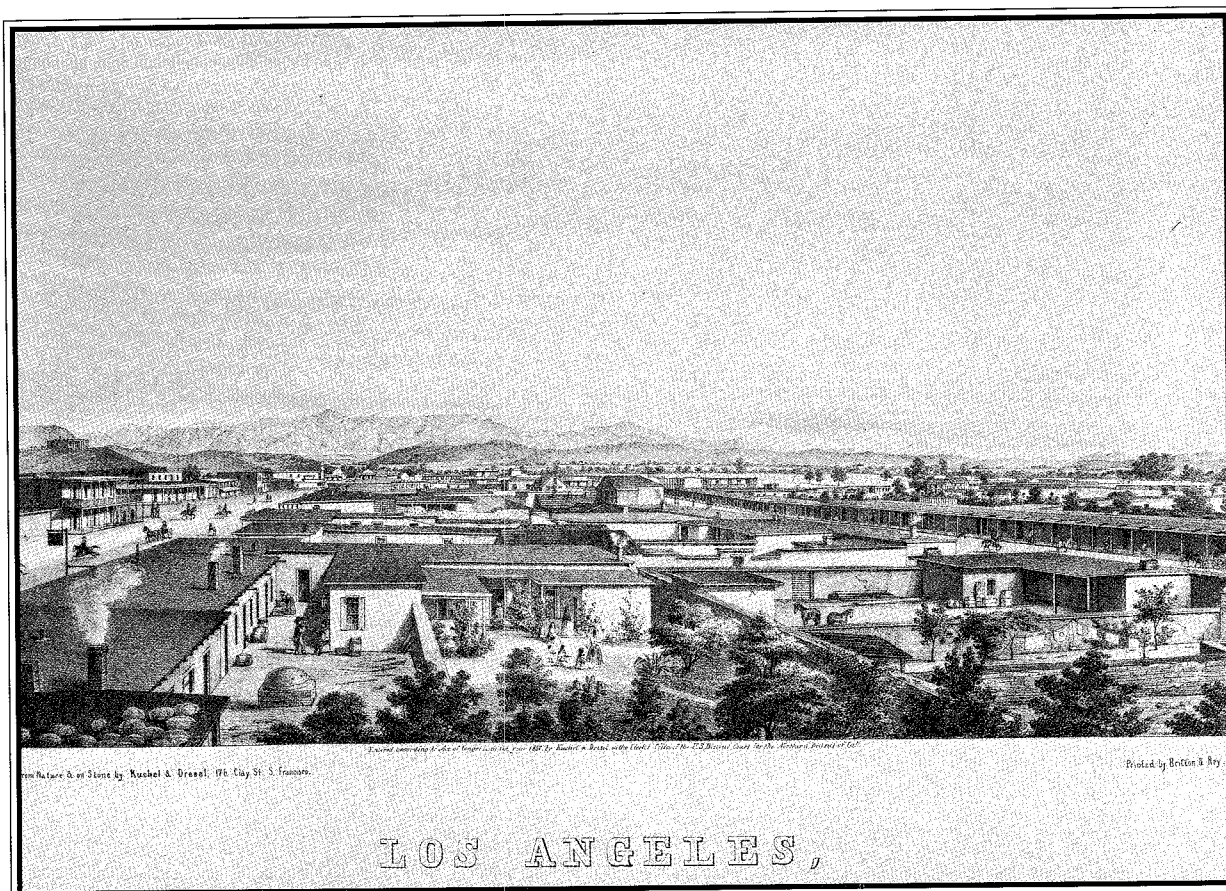
This essay centers on pro-southern sentiment in relation to the war's progress. Southern Californians divided sharply, as party rhetoric reflected the dynamic tensions of the national debate. Democrats and Republicans debated emancipation and the legality of secession. Disagreement over these issues represented a pioneer spirit and the varied background of people with strong individual attitudes. Many southern Californians supported past roots even if it meant a disruption of their newly established lifestyles. Patriotic fervor left many with no choice but to enlist in the eastern campaigns. Regional political rivalry led to contested elections and a shift from 'disunion' to 'fairness' as a central theme. Democrats and Confederate sympathizers found themselves on the defensive as the war progressed. They indignantly demanded fair play, an end to harassment, and the right to the personal liberties of speech and press.

The 1860 presidential election crystalized the volatile circumstances and key issues that had preceded the conflict. The sudden emergence of the Republican Party since its founding in 1854 and the corresponding breakdown of the Democrats mirrored the widening rift between the

North and the South. Although geographically separated from the sectional debate, California held a symbolic value greater than its four electoral votes. For Republicans, success at the polls would enhance the party's national stature and discredit the allegation that Lincoln represented only narrow regional interests. To Democrats, victory in California extended the prospect of slavery expansion in the West and the hope of acquiring a future ally to southern interests.

In 1860, Lincoln narrowly won California from a divided field of Democratic candidates. As had happened to the east, the party had divided on issues of popular sovereignty, whether Kansas would be free or slave, and northerner Stephen A. Douglas's nomination. In California, these topics were debated in the state convention and among the party newspapers. With the party unable to reach agreement, several candidates representing Democrat splinter groups were on the ballot in the state. The split, warned Governor John Downey, would place Republicans in control "for the next four years, or perhaps longer."¹ Republican solidarity in northern California offset anti-Lincoln sentiment in the southern counties, where Democrats were strong, but divided. Democrats captured legislative seats in Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Bernardino. Conversely, Lincoln received only 11 percent of the vote in El Monte, where many immigrants from Confederate regions had settled, indicative of a dismal 20 percent total for all of Los Angeles County. In sum, local residents preferred alternative candidates by a three-to-one margin, a definite sign of southern sympathy within the region.²

Several statewide trends also worked against Republicans in the 1860 election in southern California. Future construction of a transcontinental



During the Civil War, Los Angeles consisted largely of one-story adobe buildings, much as it did in this 1857 lithograph. *Courtesy California State Library.*

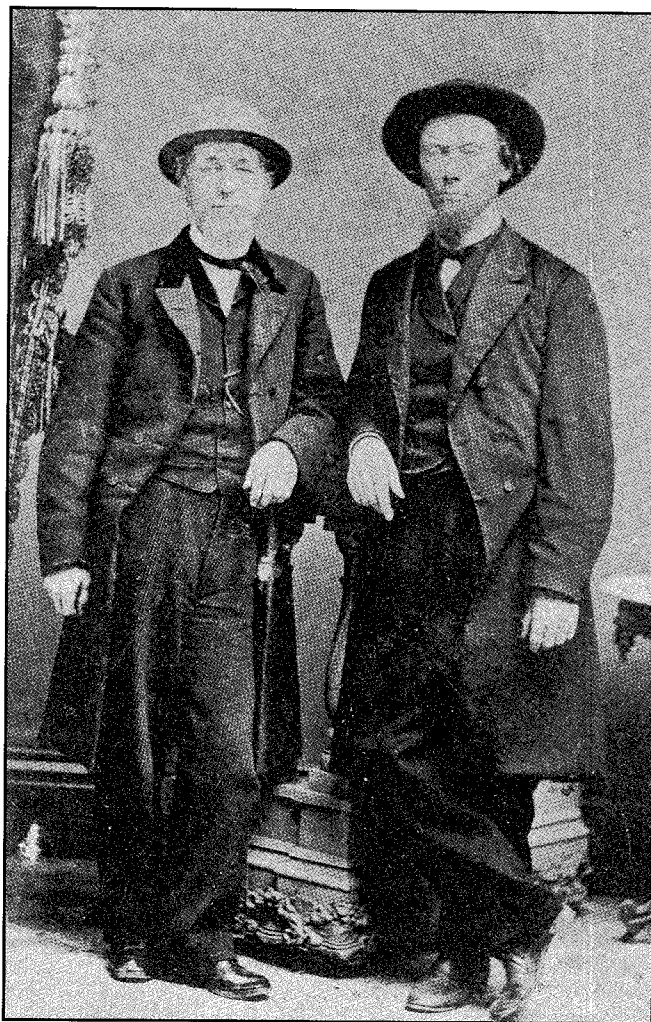
railroad became a major issue in state politics. Controversy existed over choice of routes: whether to build a central line beyond Utah to Missouri, or a southern route along the old Butterfield Stage line. Some prominent Republicans favored a northerly route, thus angering residents of southern California. Republicans also seemed outflanked on the state division issue. The lower counties, disenchanted with heavy, unequal taxation and minority representation, had toyed with the idea of state division throughout the previous decade. Many rancheros also favored a separate state out of desperation over their vanishing empires. "The gringos were getting everything," explained one

scholar, "... and the Californios knew it."³ By 1860, however, Republicans vigorously opposed any new attempt at separate statehood for southern California. Most party regulars felt the proposal would rekindle sectional tensions that had plagued the congressional debates over statehood. Southern California Republicans, caught between regional interests and political loyalty, passively supported the party line. "What is remarkable," noted one onlooker to the legislative debates, "the representation whose constituents are the most immediately interested, kept their lips closed, not one from the southern part of the state taking part in the debates."⁴

Nonetheless, in 1860 state issues remained secondary compared to the intensified debate on slavery. In 1856, for example, when the slavery issue was more subdued, the Republican Party's first presidential candidate was John C. Frémont, the state's hero and former U.S. senator. Frémont finished a respectable runner-up to James Buchanan in both Los Angeles and San Bernardino. The Republican nominee polled a sizeable 37 percent in the Democrat stronghold of Los Angeles. Francisco Ramirez, editor of *El Clamor Publico*, championed the Republican Party and became the first California editor to endorse Frémont.⁵ "Republicanism is steadily gaining ground in this part of California," enthused Lewis Granger.⁶

Frémont's success in southern California contrasted with Lincoln's dismal results and demonstrated the importance of slavery politics in the 1860 campaign. Lincoln conceded that residents of southern states would be mollified only if we "cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right."⁷ A Republican vote in 1860, therefore, represented a direct referendum on the future of the slaveholding states. Most southern Californians, many of whom hailed from Confederate states, favored the extreme, southern candidate, John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Henry Hamilton, editor of the *Los Angeles Star*, and Edward J. C. Kewen, a political activist known for his oratory, both spearheaded the defense of southern rights and partisan attacks against Republicans.⁸

The sharp antagonisms over slavery held a special attraction for some locals. The maverick qualities inherent in the pioneer spirit shared a common trait with southern defiance. John S. Griffin, a Democrat supporter and well-known physician in Los Angeles, was portrayed in the press in the fading images of the pioneer West as "the American who is fast disappearing from the stage." His active defense of southern principles earned him a reputation of "aggressive manliness . . . outright, downright; uncompromising, implacable, if need were."⁹ In a few instances the link between the frontier and slaveholding interests would transcend birthplace and heritage. Joseph Lancaster Brent recalled that one resident from Maine had passed much of his life on the frontier and became thoroughly impressed with southern ideas. Brent



Henry Hamilton (right), editor of the *Los Angeles Star* and leading Confederate sympathizer, poses with a local representative to the state legislature during the Civil War. Courtesy the Huntington Library.

developed a friendship with another northern neighbor, Winfield S. Hancock, a soldier stationed in Los Angeles. He felt they "were drawn closer together by the identical views we held upon the slavery question." Both men voted for Breckinridge in the election.¹⁰

By early 1861, Lincoln's election as president and deeply-felt sectional loyalties had polarized the citizenry and threatened to divide the nation. Southern Californians paralleled the national tenor as the secession movement gained momentum among the southern states. The focus shifted from

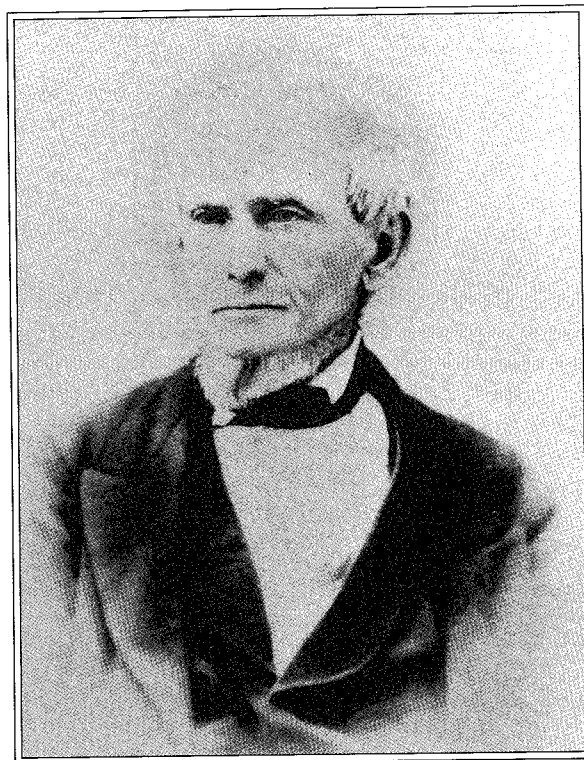
slavery politics to disunion after the bombardment of Fort Sumter by Confederates in April 1861. El Monte residents paraded through the downtown streets in support of the Confederacy. At the Bella Union Hotel in Los Angeles, rebel sympathizers hung portraits of southern generals who had led the siege of the Charleston fort. Reports circulated of Confederate enlistment camps organized at the San Bernardino Mountains mining communities in Holcomb Valley. The scheme included training and sending recruits to secession states through Arizona and Texas. "Temescal appears to be one of the most central points for secessionists," reported one correspondent, "... scarcely a day passes but what companies pass here going East sometimes in small squads from 15 to 20."¹¹ Judge Benjamin Hayes cautioned against the notion of western indifference toward rebellion, and he believed "they deceive themselves who suppose that California could stand aloof from the contest."¹²

Southern Californians affirmed Hayes's suspicions. The Lincoln administration issued a statewide appeal for volunteers in July 1861. The demand for Union enlistments acted as a scintilla and prompted an exodus to the Confederacy, but many southern sympathizers had left California before July. War had forced the issue. For Californians from secessionist states, the defense of the former homeland meant family loyalty took precedence over personal concerns, even a new life in a frontier land. For T. L. Roberts, a transplanted South Carolinian, he "would not like them to break up the government." Yet Roberts refused to take a loyalty oath, since he opposed "taking up arms against my people."¹³ William L. Sands, a native of Tennessee, felt secession a questionable idea but admitted "my sympathies are with my people."¹⁴ Joseph Lancaster Brent viewed the problem in terms of expedience. A revolt in the southern counties could initially succeed, but Brent theorized the Union "could send gunboats and troops . . . while we have no means of getting either . . . the Confederates would be overcome and the people of the state who had helped them would be ruined." He counseled sympathizers to "go South and join the Confederate army, where they would be of real service."¹⁵

A Missourian perhaps best typified the local

ambivalence. William Woods had journeyed to California in 1850, wandered the mining camps of Plumas and Sierra counties, then settled in Los Angeles in 1858. By 1861, at age thirty, single and unattached, Woods considered himself "born with the South," while if "obliged to take sides it is hard to say which side I would take." Apparently, he soon decided. Union troops captured Woods enroute to the Rio Grande in November 1861.¹⁶

Sectional hostilities hit a high-water mark early in the war. In El Monte, religion and politics proved a volatile mix, as harassed ministers reportedly carried weapons to the pulpit. The Northern Methodist Episcopal Church, victim of a statewide schism caused by the war, nearly vanished from the town by 1865. El Monte

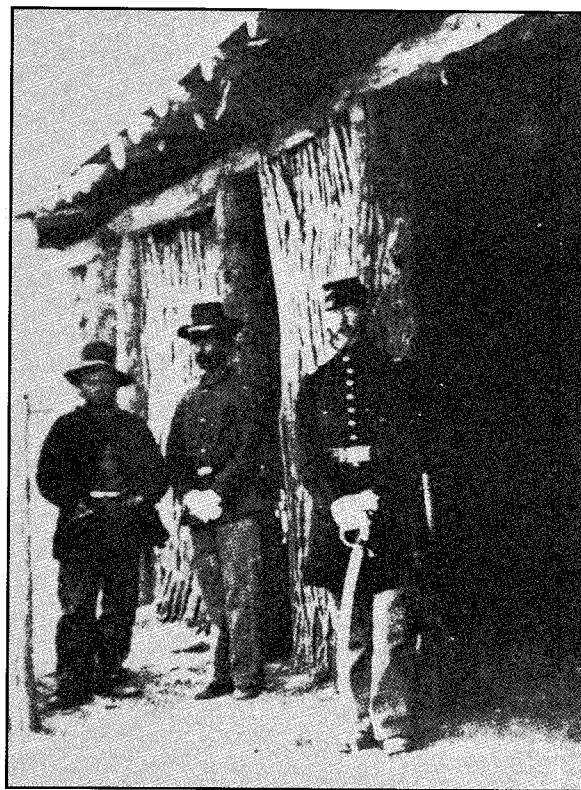


Judge Benjamin Hayes (1815-1877), ca. 1875. Hayes was a prominent Los Angeles jurist, attorney, and local historian. *Courtesy California State Library.*

residents sympathetic to the secessionist cause also demonstrated around the home of a prominent Republican, Jonathan Tibbets. One confidant warned Abel Stearns of a potential raid on his stock "the very moment an occasion of government hostilities would warrant their doing it under the cloak of war."¹⁷ With news of the Confederate victory at Bull Run in early summer, sympathizers in Los Angeles held a public rally and openly insulted the Union army. "I told you so I knew we would whip the d-d ass," one citizen remembered, "and even worse remarks were made in a tumult of passion by those opposed to our government."¹⁸ Upstate, the *Marysville Daily Appeal* summarized northern concern over a potential revolt in the southern counties. The paper advocated a strong military presence in southern California since "secession is strong there, and must be united against."¹⁹

Indeed, potential violence led to an immediate federal military presence in the southern locales. Army camps and guard barracks were established at San Pedro, Baldwin Hills, and Los Angeles. Union strategists also increased reserves at the border forts in the Mohave and Yuma deserts, while troops received orders to detain any suspicious caravans. Hence, the persistent stream of émigrés slowed to a trickle within a year. In 1861, an estimated two hundred men left southern California to join the Confederacy. Southward migration, however, nearly stopped by 1862, since most of the disaffected had already left, or the threat of internment proved a sufficient deterrent.²⁰

Although a defection to the Confederacy proved troublesome, insurrection in southern counties remained the paramount concern of federal authorities during the early stages of the war. The military feared that covert activity and sabotage would be a prelude to future Confederate liberation. "Dissatisfaction in the southern part of the state is increasing," declared General E. V. Sumner. "The rebels are organizing, collecting supplies and evidently preparing to receive a force from Texas."²¹ One onlooker reported that "since the 'Seceshers' left here, . . . we have all sort of rumors that they were going to return here again."²² Union troops intercepted several letters from former residents living in Texas that added credence to a



A Union soldier (far right) poses at Fort Mojave. Border guards were stationed here and at Fort Yuma to prevent Confederate sympathizers from traveling to the South. *Courtesy Special Collections Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.*

potential liberation movement. Joseph Lancaster Brent recalled the schemers "proposed to organize an expedition to cross the desert and come into southern California, and accomplish what . . . [they] could for the Confederate cause." Sumner personally interviewed Brent and John Griffin, recipients of these letters, and felt assured the men had no involvement in any plot.²³

Nevertheless, federal troop movements into southern California cannot fully measure the extent of resistance there. The potential for insurrection in the region was greatly exaggerated. Certainly, sectional loyalties prodded many residents to emigrate eastward. Despite rumors, covert operations, however, were scattered, unorganized, and failed to produce any widespread revolt. The difficulty in any evaluation of actual Confederate resistance in southern California arises from the unreliability of information the government had access to during

the war. Rumors of dangerous cabals seemed a logical extension of the "worst case scenario," common to military planning. Thus, some zealots left and the locale remained "to some extent, proslavery, but not secessionist."²⁴

The threat of a Confederate invasion only exacerbated matters for the Union strategists. How could the South ignore the state's vast mineral reserves, while the North tapped those same resources for their own war effort? This consideration seemed to encourage a Confederate military stab into the Southwest. The discovery of gold at Holcomb Valley in 1860 provided an added incentive. The discovery was "a scheme," one Union soldier recalled, "to furnish the Confederacy with the gold of western mines and prestige to win recognition from European countries."²⁵ More important, the southern California expanse seemed to provide additional inducements to the Confederacy—vast grasslands, ungarded deserts, and a sparse population.

Hence, a Confederate invasion of southern California seemed plausible in view of the region's isolation and manpower shortage, coupled with a vocal anti-Union minority there. The scenario gained credence when a Confederate regiment advanced into northern Arizona during the summer of 1861. Approximately one hundred troops from Texas intercepted the overland trails, halted stagelines, and destroyed supplies at Union storage centers. The Confederate movements seemed a menacing threat despite their limited strategy of harassment and observation. Northern California newspapers, however, duly reported enemy advances. As the Confederate detail moved closer to the Colorado River, the *Sacramento Daily Union* warned of potential rebellion along the southern border.²⁶ By September, in the aftermath of symbolic victories at Fort Sumter and Manassas Junction, Confederate emotion had carried their Texas recruits past the Pima villages to within fifty miles of Fort Yuma.²⁷

The most active troop movements of the war in the Southwest occurred over the next ten months. Throughout the fall of 1861, the northern military reinforced supply points and built new encampments. Union officials stationed sentinels at Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and El Monte. One Union

officer recalled a hostile reception in southern California, and the troops "encountered very grim looks because of our presence as we passed through country."²⁸ By October, Union reinforcements reached Warner's Ranch east of San Diego and Camp Wright along the southern route to Fort Yuma. An advance guard halted all travel across the Colorado River. The regiment seized one ferry located near Fort Yuma and destroyed a Sonoran vessel thirty miles south within Mexico. One officer boasted that "there is scarcely an available ford anywhere on the river." Meanwhile, Indian scouts guarded the mining camps of Sonora and southern California.²⁹

In reality, the Confederacy posed little danger to southern California. While the South might have mounted a military offensive early in the war, the nature of events and progress of the campaign reduced the likelihood of any serious Confederate invasion of southern California. By 1862, Confederates were on the defensive in the Midwest, and their strategy centered on gaining control of the Mississippi River and overcoming the Union blockade in the Gulf of Mexico. The Southwest therefore, held importance only for tactical purposes—observation of Union troop activity. The Arizona forces were "a cord of observation," noted the *Los Angeles Star*, "to watch and report any movements made from California upon New Mexico and Texas."³⁰ By late summer of 1862, Union forces seemed more concerned with Navajo Indian uprisings than with a Confederate campaign in the Southwest. The tables had turned. Any encounters with southern forces provided an opportunity for Union harassment of the secessionist enemy. "If a force of rebels comes," ordered General James H. Carleton, "you know how to annoy it; how to stir up their camps and stock by night; how to lay waste to prairies by fire; how to make the country very warm for them and the road a difficult one."³¹

Although southern California did not experience direct military involvement, the Civil War did affect the more abstract arena of party politics. Opposing interpretations of federal authority were at the crux of the debate, along with profound differences in approach toward individual freedoms and national allegiance. Party politics had sparked the secession movement in the first place,

and sectional rhetoric dominated local contests throughout the war years. In southern California, political tensions punctuated the struggle over local control, pitted Democrats against Republicans, and southerners versus northerners. "Politics," as one writer summarized, "were fought out on the North against South line."³²

Campaign tactics initially worked better for Democratic candidates. The local 1861 election returned to office most Breckinridge supporters such as John A. Watson and Murray Morrison, who had supported the Lecompton Constitution and peaceful secession, and had defended slavery where it already existed.³³ In contrast, the election signified a repudiation of Republicans as both responsible for "an abolition war" and as corrupt beneficiaries of federal patronage. Even popular Republican candidates such as Abel Stearns and Juan Sepulveda took a beating. Stearns finished a distant second to J. R. Vineyard in the state senate contest, while Sepulveda ran fourth in a five man field for the assembly. The gubernatorial campaign also exposed Republican weakness in southern California. Republican Leland Stanford lost by nearly twice his opponents' margin in Los Angeles County, and of the ten county precincts he captured only Anaheim and San Pedro.³⁴

Yet the Democrats' political success in southern California proved illusory within the context of the statewide campaign. Republicans gained a majority of assembly seats in the northern counties, particularly in San Francisco. Stanford won the gubernatorial race—a pivotal election since control of state political machinery translated into advantages at the local level. "But the times are changed, and we have to change with them," reported a chagrined Henry Hamilton.³⁵ Some Democrats gloomily forecasted military repression under the guise of patriotism. Benjamin Hayes complained that any criticism of Union policy would be interpreted as subversive behavior. Augustus Ensworth characterized the era as "tough times," since "it appears *dangerous* for one to try and defend himself in his right according to the civil law of the land."³⁶ The Los Angeles *Star* pleaded for an end to "sensational humbug about Secession and treason" after the conclusion of the 1861

campaign. "It has had the effect intended—to influence the election."³⁷

Local circumstances provided Democrats with additional ammunition to use against their opponents. A sensitive economy with sharp down-cycles characterized the southern California frontier. Between 1861 and 1863 the area suffered a protracted severe drought, alternately severe flood, and widespread smallpox infestation. "We have had to resort to arms," wrote one witness regarding the panic over the 1863 epidemic.³⁸ Henry Hamilton found time in his busy agenda at the state legislature to write and console a local constituent. He pledged to "do what I can to lessen the burdens our friends will be called upon to bear."³⁹ In turn, these hardships devastated the cattle ranching interests and affected agriculture and citrus concerns. "We poor rancheros have had a damned bad string of luck," exclaimed one desperate soul, "and if it is going to continue I don't know what will become of us."⁴⁰

A locally unpopular war and difficult times translated into sharp criticism of Union policies and resentment of upstate domination. Southern California's powerlessness to control events raised doubts about the value of the political process. Political practices under Republican rule generated controversy. Allegations of voter fraud by Unionists and intimidation at polling booths by Union soldiers tarnished the legitimacy of a Republican mandate. For Democrats, attacks on repressive Union policies also served to galvanize party loyalty. "We hold, there can be no disunion among Democrats," intoned the Los Angeles *Star*.⁴¹ Legal challenges of election returns provided a courtroom forum to influence public sentiment. Democrat Edward J. C. Kewen expressed disappointment with one of his party's candidates who "did not contest" his defeat. Kewen felt the next legislative session would provide "an opportunity however, . . . of ventilating that and other matters," while party members "will have to stand from under."⁴²

Still, local opinion in southern California moved toward a wartime mentality as the national conflict progressed. The military campaigns of 1861 and

1862 erased the misconception that the war would be brief. Union victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg in 1863 improved the northern military image, and the Emancipation Proclamation reinforced the Union aim of a just war.⁴³ More importantly, southern Californians lacked an indigenous past and thus drew a national identity from the context of the westward movement. The Civil War brought local economic development and population growth to a halt, and critics of the apparently successful Union military policy only threatened to prolong that retardation. By the close of 1863, local Democrats were on the defensive as much as the Confederate cause was nationally. Republicans



Col E. J. C. Kewen, California's first attorney general, and a leading activist in Democratic politics during the Civil War years. *Courtesy The Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

demanding a unified front in the war effort, while Democrats suffered the pressures of conformity. John Forster cautioned a fellow resident against criticism of taxation policy since "too free use of words" could lead to arrest.⁴⁴ "Damned black souls (or republicans) however they may be called," wrote José Estudillo, exasperated over his arrest for failure to register for the draft with local authorities.⁴⁵ The bitter electoral campaigns of Democrats Henry Hamilton and E. J. C. Kewen led to their arrests on charges of subversive activity. "Disloyalty to the Union cause," recalled one observer, "had become about as perilous as had been the expression of abolition sentiment but a few years before."⁴⁶

Fears of secessionist plots and subversion ultimately stifled partisan politics in southern California. Military detainments served to discredit Democrat activists and intimidate moderate opposition. At the same time, critics of Union policies sounded provincial and mean-spirited against a backdrop of patriotic fervor. When they characterized the Emancipation Proclamation as a simple theft of "private property," Democrats were on the unpopular side of events. To satirize the northern military in 1862 as "paralyzed" lost credibility with Union victories in the West during the following year and by clear Union supremacy in 1864. A few partisans merely ignored obvious trends, or misinterpreted battlefield news because of unreliable information and delays in communication. John G. Downey desperately wanted more news than "our little Democratic papers," since "they are soon read and leave the mind only more anxious for news."⁴⁷ One local Democrat felt confused by the Confederate defeat at Vicksburg and Lee's daring advance into Pennsylvania. Still, he dismissed any negative speculation about Confederate military weakness. "What all these matters portend it is hard to conjecture. I suppose they know what they are about. Quien sabe."⁴⁸

Union policies and the conduct of the war partially explained the steady decline in opposition strength. Early in the war, unimaginative Democrat strategies provided few alternatives to the military stalemate. The prospect of state division lost credibility early in the war when opponents equated the idea of a Pacific Republic to southern secession. "Our State's local issue will be Pacific Republic, or

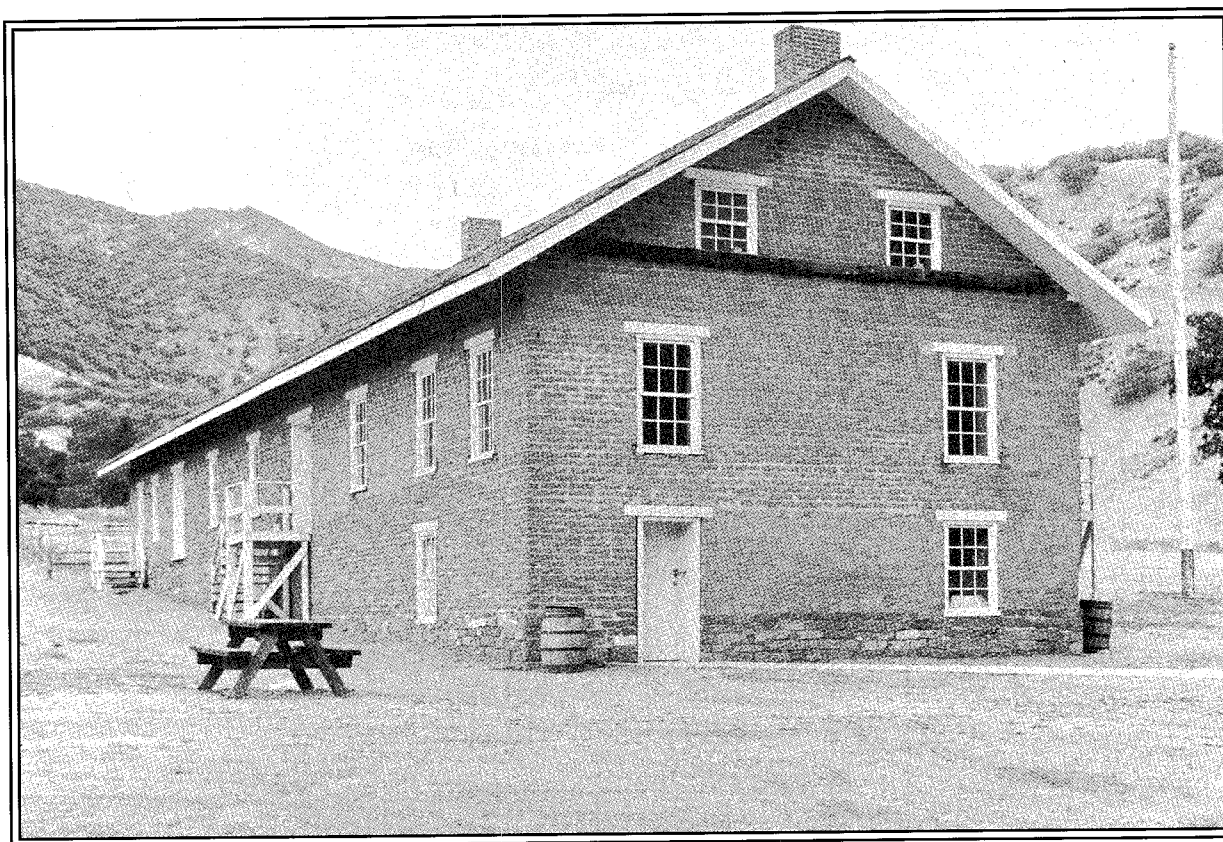
no Pacific Republic. We are for the Union, and no Pacific Republic," asserted the Oroville *Weekly Butte Record*.⁴⁹ "One experiment is left," declared Edward J. C. Kewen. "It is Peace—peace to a distracted country—peace to a nation drunk with horrors."⁵⁰ Kewen's remarks to the state legislature evoked a standing ovation—but only from one side of the chamber. In reality, an end to the war at the expense of the Union offered no solution at all, and criticism by Democrats without a viable military stratagem only reinforced suspicions that they were disloyal.

In southern California, complaints of repressive Union conduct lost their impact as the war unfolded. The Democrat press, for example, remained vigilant against potential military intervention into the southern California mining camps. "Our miners will wake up some fine morning," warned the Los Angeles *Star*, "and find a military guard prospecting their claims for and on account of Uncle Abe."⁵¹ The *Star's* admonitions never materialized. The mines thrived as a haven for entrepreneurs: refugees, pacifists, and opportunists looking for fortune rather than conflict. One traveler to Walker's Ranch in late 1863 conceded that "everyone gives a good account of the mines."⁵² In general, the military kept a low profile during the war years. The government made little effort to enforce draft laws, though such enforcement was common in northern California. Fear of the draft, however, was briefly exploited by local Democrats. By 1863, the Union presence had assumed a supportive role to the troop movements in the Southwest, rather than as an intimidating force poised against threats of unrest. In sum, the lack of open hostility between military and local citizens further reduced fears of reprisals against Confederate sympathizers.⁵³

By 1864, southern California Democrats still controlled state offices and most local affairs. However, party dominance showed signs of weakening. Edward J. C. Kewen and Henry Hamilton chose not to run for re-election to the legislature, although they remained active in local politics. Meanwhile, a Republican won the Los Angeles city marshal contest in 1863, an influential position coveted during vigilante times. The Republican gubernatorial candidate, Frederick F. Low, won the election statewide and finished a close runner-up in the

lower counties to hometown favorite John G. Downey. Ironically, Downey had forecasted an end to Democratic control over local patronage with Lincoln's victory in 1860.⁵⁴ The ex-governor was not the only casualty of that prediction. The state legislature repeatedly ignored proposals to appropriate money for railroad construction in Los Angeles, a favorite Democrat issue throughout the previous decade. Seeking to muzzle a major Democratic critic of the war effort, Union officials had denied Henry Hamilton's Los Angeles *Star* use of the mails in 1862. After Hamilton transformed the paper into the *Wilmington Journal*, authorities suspended its publication in 1864. As a consequence, the decline in subscriptions to Hamilton's publications precursed a more serious erosion in party rank and file.⁵⁵

Local activists used a variety of tactics to counter adverse trends. Democrats recognized the lessons of a divided party from the 1860 presidential campaign. "It is of the highest importance," stressed Edward J. C. Kewen, "that the State should be fully represented in order to give encouragement to our party organization."⁵⁶ Yet voter participation in the region declined between 1862 and 1864. The Los Angeles *Star* decried public apathy and "men pretending to be Democrats who absented themselves from the polls."⁵⁷ The Democrats' concerns suggested that emigration of southern loyalists, intimidation, and public disinterest in war politics had all affected voter turnout. A few candidates downplayed the war in their campaigns to counter these adverse patterns. Benjamin Hayes stressed his independence, impartiality, and integrity. "The office of *Judge* should be maintained free forever from any influence of mere party politics," declared Hayes.⁵⁸ A large Republican turnout in Santa Barbara contributed to a close election, however, and ended Hayes's tenure as district judge. Even the most ardent southern supporters muted their rhetoric to avert reprisals for their beliefs. "I cannot favor the mad schemers for disunion," Kewen stated evenly in demanding an immediate truce.⁵⁹ Disgruntled over the prospect of having no Democrat nominee but George McClellan for president, Henry Hamilton eventually supported a "peace platform" as the only feasible option to Lincoln in 1864.⁶⁰



Restored soldiers' barracks at Fort Tejon State Historical Park. Fifteen officers who served at the fort became generals during the Civil War. Eight generals led Union forces, while seven served the Confederacy. *Courtesy Ronald C. Woolsey, photographer.*

The Democrats' political difficulties translated into an uphill battle in the 1864 campaign. Internal problems in party organization hampered local efforts to win votes. In October, Hamilton's financial hardships eventually forced his newspaper into bankruptcy. The newspaper's closure left Democrats without a major political organ in southern California, a crucial loss in the weeks before the election.⁶¹ At San Juan Capistrano, the party failed to inspire local membership or deliver on a promised newspaper. In contrast, an improved Union military outlook nationally under Grant and Sherman, coupled with the powers of incumbency, energized Republicans at the precinct level. "Every effort will be made to carry the election in this County against us," feared one Democrat regular.⁶² John Forster called the election "very warm" and "Don Abel is running about . . . stumping everywhere that they can get an audience to understand English."⁶³

Local Republican momentum peaked at the election. Andrés Pico, Abel Stearns, and J. A. Sanchez staged a Republican gala at Los Angeles during the

closing days of the campaign. Phineas Banning hosted a similar rally and grand barbecue at Wilmington. One bitter partisan felt that if Republicans publicly flaunted this rally as the "beginning of the feast in anticipation of the Election . . . the majority will hide snakes in their boots."⁶⁴ These remarks expressed frustration rather than reality. Lincoln carried the state by 30,000 votes. In southern California, Republicans captured Wilmington and Anaheim to offset Democrat strength in El Monte, San Gabriel, and Azusa. As one historian has noted, "The initial return indicated a stunning upset. . . . There was jubilation among Union men in Los Angeles, and artillery boomed at Drum Barracks."⁶⁵

Once the Confederacy surrendered in the spring of 1865, however, the bitterness associated with wartime politics eased. The reduction of military forces in California mitigated tensions, returned

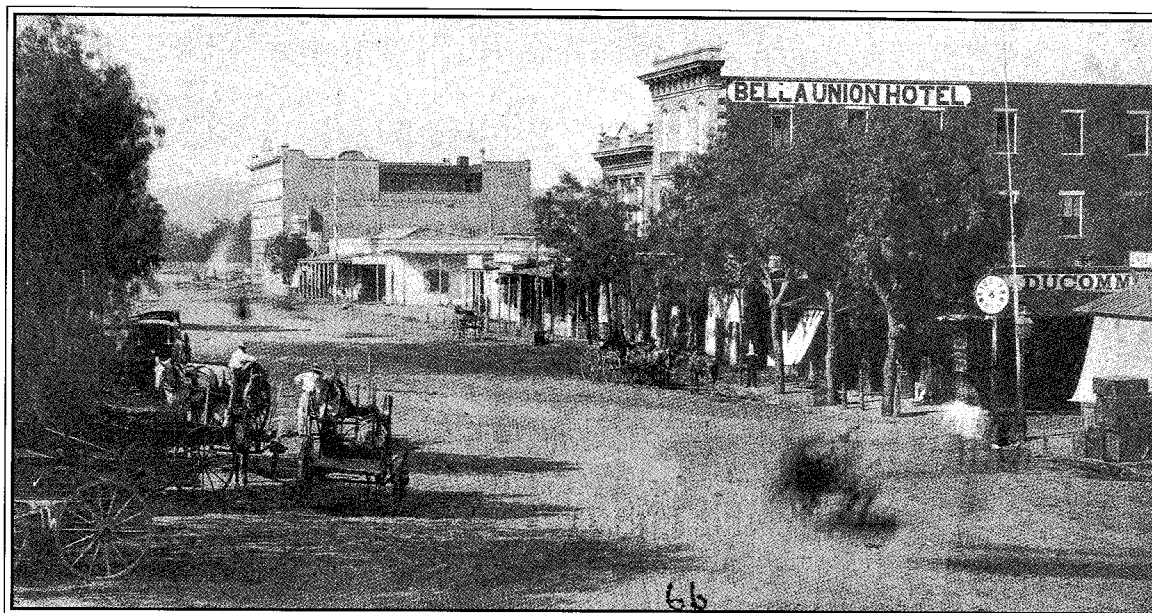
southern communities to an atmosphere of civilian control, and began an era of reconciliation. "The war is over, the government has been vindicated, and all issues will now be settled peaceably," pronounced the *Los Angeles Semi-Weekly News*.⁶⁶ Hence, a frontier agenda of commercial expansion reemerged as a civic priority. Benjamin Wilson, for example, encouraged one Confederate expatriate to return to Los Angeles after the war. Wilson believed post-war restrictions on the political rights of former Confederate soldiers would be repealed, and "we are in hopes of brighter times."⁶⁷ Old themes came to the forefront: railroad construction, law and order, education, and social progress. The future offered renewed vitality in commerce, with increased speculation in petroleum and mining. "There are riches in store for Los Angeles," promised the *News*, "yet that item depends upon the return of liberality on the part of her citizens, in the way of aiding in the progressive work."⁶⁸

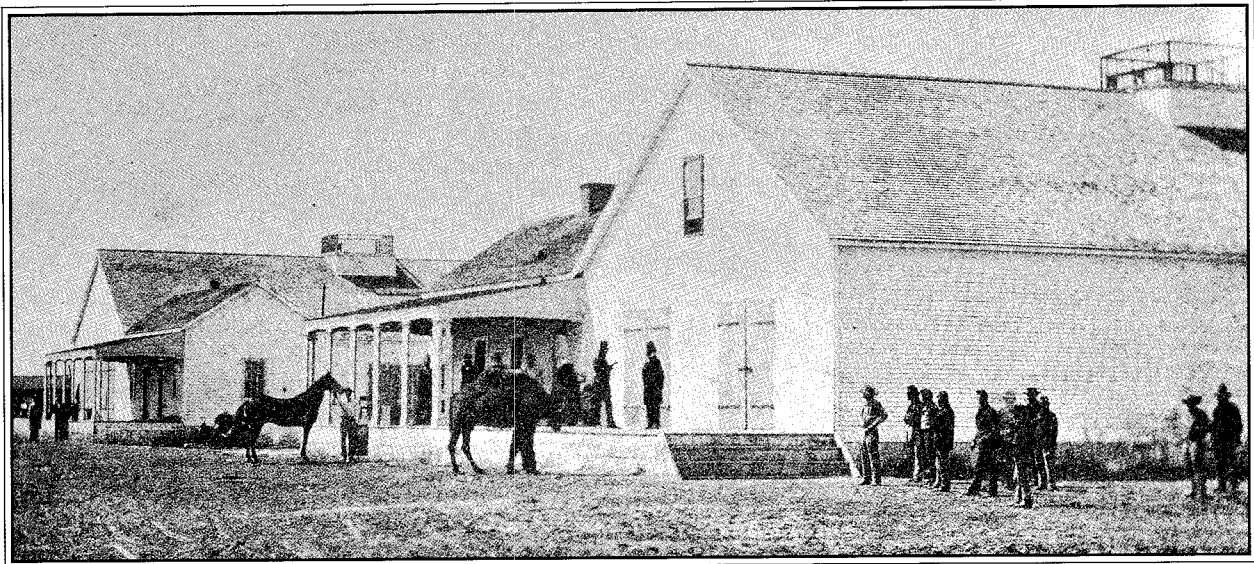
Regional issues dominated local 1865 campaigns, as Democrats and Republicans fought to a standoff

in the election. The Union party captured the senate race, but lost both assembly contests. Phineas Banning, the Republican senatorial candidate, avoided Reconstruction topics in deference to a theme of party unity and commercial prosperity. He supported railroad construction between San Pedro and Los Angeles as a long-term initiative for improved harbor transit. The award of federal monies for the project led to charges of cronyism, divided Republicans, and contributed to election defeats at San Bernardino and Los Angeles. "The Union party of this county is helplessly divided," confessed the *News*.⁶⁹ Republicans, however, won the mayoral race in Los Angeles—a first. In turn, Democrats of many stripes shared the political stage, compared to the dominance of the pro-slavery Chivalry faction during the pre-war years. Ultimately, the 1865 election proved a victory for southern Californians. Both parties reasserted a progressive view of future expansion and sought a government responsive to the provincial needs of settlement and growth.⁷⁰

Bella Union Hotel, Main Street, Los Angeles, 1870. The hotel was a popular meeting place for Confederate sympathizers during the war. *Courtesy The Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

The Civil War, in retrospect, had a pervasive effect on southern California regardless of the remoteness of battle. War issues, personalities, and campaigns dominated headlines





throughout the era. The sectional tensions connected with slavery influenced local politics, and secession rhetoric found a responsive local audience when fighting erupted between the states. During 1861 and 1862, a potential Confederate offensive in the southwest accentuated the strategic importance of southern California. A backdrop of southern sympathy in the region compounded this threat of insurrection and invasion. Thus, an uncertain military situation led to a repressive Union policy and intimidating troop presence in the lower counties.

Political campaigns, too, reflected the harsh polemics of wartime opponents. Voter fraud, detentions, and contested elections symbolized a different type of battleground. Republican charges of disunion kept Democrats at a disadvantage, particularly when military events favored the Union. The party's fortunes eventually went the way of the Confederacy's. Lincoln's 1864 reelection and success in southern California proved a harbinger of the South's demise.

Finally, the Civil War's impact on southern California underscored the link between East and West, an inseparable bond between frontier and nation. Once the war ended, however, southern Californians looked to the business of settlement as a measure of restored tranquility. Perhaps, like most Americans, their future provided hope, and a return to local concerns proved a necessary ingredient of that healing process. Such was the case of Mary Rhodes, a Confederate nurse who won Robert E.

Federal military headquarters for southern California during the Civil War was Camp Drum, constructed early in 1862 near the port of Wilmington. Popularly known as "Drum Barracks," it was home to the California Volunteers sent to the region to control secessionist sympathizers, and it served as supply depot for the California Column bound for Arizona. The experimental Camel Corps was stationed there for a year. One of the camels stands in the foreground. Today Drum Barracks is operated as a museum by the city of Los Angeles, the only major Civil War historic site in southern California. *Courtesy Security Pacific Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.*

Lee's admiration. After the war, she found herself emotionally drained and in poor health. For Mrs. Rhodes, resettling in California offered a renewal of spirit and healing. "I hope the journey may improve your health," Lee wrote to her, "and . . . [bring] new scenes and new cares, for wherever you go, you will always feel the cares which benevolence and religion inspire in the human heart."⁷¹ Lee's words may just as well have been for all southern Californians, since their "new cares" offered the same inspiration for reconciliation. CHS

See notes beginning on page 407.

Ronald C. Woolsey is a reader at the Huntington Library and a level coordinator in the social studies department at Bishop Amat High School. Mr. Woolsey has written articles and book reviews on southern California and the West.

JAMES D. HART: A TRIBUTE AND REMEMBRANCE

by James J. Rawls

California lost one of its most perceptive interpreters on July 23, 1990, with the death of James D. Hart, director of the Bancroft Library and professor emeritus at the University of California at Berkeley. The passing of Professor Hart has been noted in journals and newspapers around the world, from a three-line mention by Herb Caen in the *San Francisco Chronicle* to a three-column eulogy in the *Times* of London. My purpose here is to pay tribute to Professor Hart's remarkable contributions to the field of California history, and to offer a few notes of personal remembrance.

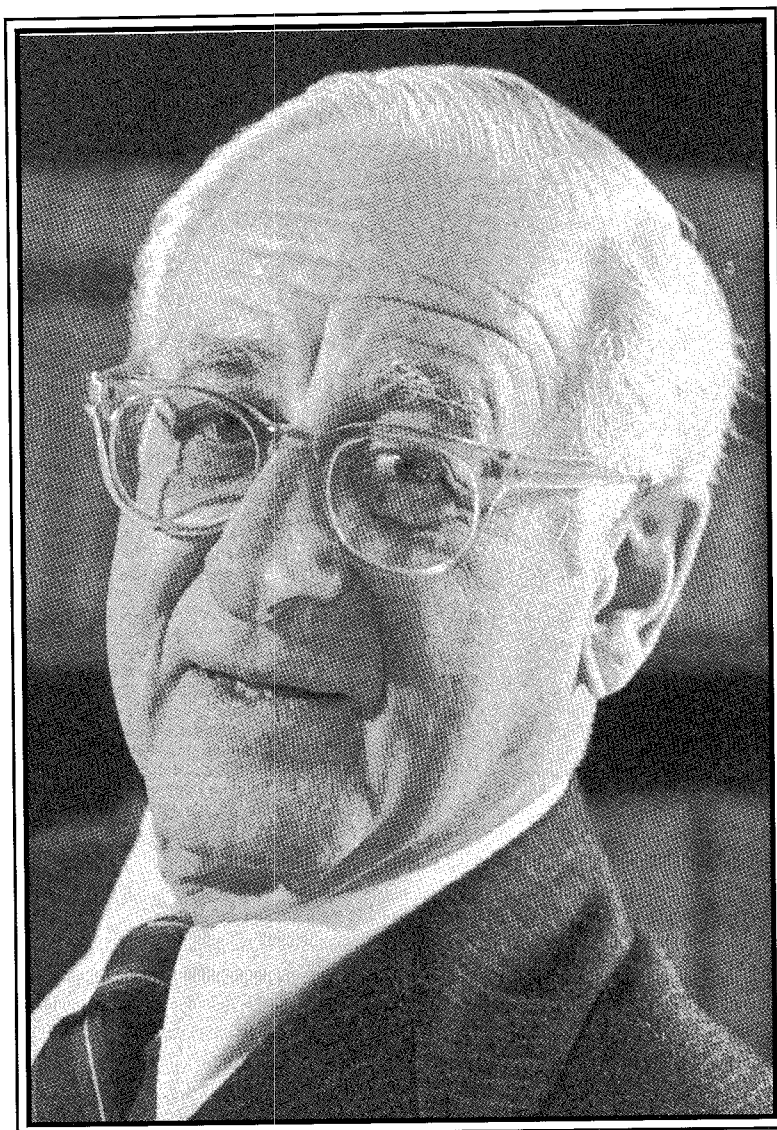
James David Hart was a native Californian, born in San Francisco on April 18, 1911, the fifth anniversary of the great 1906 earthquake. He received his bachelor of arts degree from Stanford in 1932 and his doctorate in American literature from Harvard four years later. Shortly after joining the Berkeley faculty as an instructor of English in 1936, Professor Hart began his lifelong career of scholarly engagement with the literature and history of California.

One of James D. Hart's first published articles was a brilliant reinterpretation of Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). Hart's article, which appeared in *The American Quarterly* in 1936, analyzed Dana's voyage to California as a trip inward as well as outward. During the course of his California sojourn, Hart explained, Dana made important discoveries about himself, discoveries ultimately more meaningful than any of the dramatic events of his physical journey west. This article set the standard for much of Professor Hart's future work. Here we see his extraordinary powers of perception at work—probing beneath the surface of events, searching for larger patterns of expression, identifying themes of universal meaning.

Over the next decade, James D. Hart continued his interest in California as he advanced steadily through the ranks of academia. In 1950 he launched an international search to recover the lost manuscript of Frank Norris's classic California novel, *McTeague: A Story of San Francisco* (1890), a page of which had been inserted in each of Norris's *Complete Works*, published by Doubleday in 1928. Professor Hart's diligence paid off and eventually nearly half the pages of the original manuscript were deposited in the Bancroft Library. Those fugitive pages, as well as a host of other valuable Norrisiana collected by Professor Hart, are one of his enduring legacies to the world of California scholarship. Hart described this unusual "search and research" project in an article in *College & Research Libraries* in 1958. Twelve years later he published his own edition of Norris's earliest writings, *A Novelist in the Making*.

The Bancroft Library in 1960 issued a little book written by Hart, *American Images of Spanish California*. Although less than forty pages long, the book stands as a major contribution to our understanding of the evolving American consciousness of the character of California. Professor Hart traced that consciousness from the words of early critical observers, such as James Ohio Pattie, through the writings of Helen Hunt Jackson and the other great romanticizers of the late 1800s. "Thus does the legendary grow," Hart observed, "about the idle, sunny mission days before the gringo came." Drawing upon a wide range of sources, Hart offered nothing less than an intellectual history of the image of early California. His work, often cited, formed the basis for later, more exhaustive treatments.

Another small but important book by James D. Hart appeared the following year, *My First Publication*



James D. Hart (1911-1990). *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*



James D. Hart, late director of the Bancroft Library, and Anthony Bliss, rare books librarian, are photographed here with an early, rare edition of Mason's *Laws for the Better Government of California*. A recent acquisition by Dr. Hart for the library, this document is the only copy known to exist. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

(1961), published by the Book Club of California, an organization that he served as president from 1956 to 1960. This compact volume included the writings of eleven California authors who described their earliest appearances in print. Here we see Hart's lighter touch, his bemused fascination with the anecdotal and offbeat aspects of California's colorful history. He had a keen appreciation of the power of narrative history, and he relished the opportunity to share amusing anecdotes that illumined larger aspects of character or historical development.

In 1966 Hart established the definitive text of Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Silverado Squatters* (1883) and made available a complete edition of Stevenson's other California writings in *From Scotland to Silverado*. Here again, Hart broke new ground in the field of California studies. In his introductory essay, he demonstrated convincingly the importance of Stevenson's brief stay in California as a force that shaped much of his later career. The

Napa Valley and Monterey Peninsula were transformed by Stevenson into the fictional landscape of *Treasure Island* (1883). The flat-topped outline of Mt. St. Helena is unmistakably the model for Long John Silver's Spyglass Hill.

Perhaps Hart's most enduring contribution to California historiography is his splendid reference work *A Companion to California* (1978, rev. ed. 1987), a book that I had the privilege of reading in manuscript. My copy of the first edition is dog-eared and torn—the binding is nearly detached—because it is the single-most-often-used book on my shelf of California references. Whenever I want to check a fact or get the details straight on an incident in California history, I turn to "Hart's Companion." My experience with the book is not unique. Its

wealth of information on subjects ranging from Abalone to Zukor, its carefully constructed cross references, and its trustworthiness of detail have made it an indispensable source for thousands of students of California history.

James D. Hart became director of the Bancroft Library in 1969, and served with distinction at that post until his death. Under his direction the library grew enormously, acquiring a national and international reputation for the range and richness of its collections. Hart's success in attracting endowments, gifts, and new collections became legendary among librarians around the country. One of the most important recent gifts he received was the only complete bilingual copy of Col. Richard B. Mason's *Laws for the Better Government of California* (1848), a crucial document for understanding the state's legal history. Professor Hart also actively supervised the re-evaluation of some of the great treasures of the Bancroft. In the mid-1970s he sponsored a battery of scientific tests on the plate of brass, discovered in 1936 and displayed for years at the Bancroft as an artifact from the circumnavigating voyage of Francis Drake. The tests' results, published by Hart in *The Plate of Brass Reexamined* (1977, suppl. 1979), cast doubt on the plate's authenticity. Another of Hart's proudest accomplishments as director of the Bancroft was the renowned publication program of the papers and manuscripts of Mark Twain. In 1985 the University of California Press published the definitive edition of the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, dedicated to James D. Hart "in appreciation and celebration of his distinguished scholarship, his unswerving loyalty, and his surpassing enterprise."

It was when he was director of the Bancroft Library that I first met James D. Hart in 1970. I was a graduate student at Berkeley when I made an appointment with Professor Hart to ask him to serve on my orals committee. I recall sitting in his book-lined office at the library and being powerfully

impressed not only by his erudition and urbane good humor, but also by his patrician grace and charm. Over the next several years, as he guided my reading and study, he proved to be a rigorously demanding yet patient mentor. When the day of my orals finally arrived, Professor Hart was the last of my inquisitors to enter the examination room. The other professors, all prominent scholars from the Berkeley history department, rose to their feet as Hart entered the room. Their response was natural and appropriate. James D. Hart was a man who commanded respect and deference from students and colleagues alike.

For twenty years I have counted on Professor Hart for advice and counsel. He generously read all or parts of each of the manuscripts I prepared for publication. His criticisms, always balanced and endlessly tolerant, directed me to greater clarity of expression and precision in the use of language. His personal warmth and enthusiasm for the work of a former student was sustaining. I will miss him tremendously.

One of Professor Hart's favorite early references to California appeared in "The Power of Fancy," a poem by the eighteenth-century American writer Philip Freneau. His words might serve well as an epitaph for this eminent Californian, James D. Hart. In summoning an idyllic site, a land of wonder and delight, the poet could do no better than to command his muse:

Bear me from that distant strand,
Over ocean, over land,
To California's golden shore—
Fancy, stop, and rove no more.

CHS

James J. Rawls, an instructor of history at Diablo Valley College, is the coauthor of *California: An Interpretive History* (1988) and editor of *New Directions in California History: A Book of Readings* (1988).

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Edited by James J. Rawls

Los Angeles Aqueduct,
San Fernando Valley, ca.
1913. Courtesy California
State Library.



Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s.

By Kevin Starr. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, xiv, 453 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Spencer Olin, Professor of History, University of California, Irvine, and author of California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives and California Politics: The Emerging Corporate State, 1846-1920 and coeditor of Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since World War II.

Many years ago it was my pleasure to review Kevin Starr's first book, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (1973). Like most other reviewers of that book, I praised Starr for his vivid, elegant, and absorbing account of California's struggle for regional identity. The social and cultural foundation on which Starr constructed his impressive narrative was provided by the leading intellectual and literary figures of the state's formative years, such as Gertrude Atherton, Hubert

Howe Bancroft, Henry George, Bret Harte, Jack London, John Muir, Helen Hunt Jackson, Frank Norris, and Josiah Royce. At the core of their collective dream, according to Starr, was the quest for a special relationship to nature. That earnest quest, when considered in terms of the palpable manner by which Californians in subsequent years have so severely compromised their dream, added pathos and urgency to Starr's rendition.

Accompanying my generally positive opinion of that book were reservations about its lack of conceptual structure or analytical categories, its rambling and discursive nature, its vacuum-like tendency to include more detail than was necessary to tell its basic story. I found myself agreeing with the observation of another reviewer of the book, David Williams, who warned that Starr's description and analysis "leave the historian who lives and breathes by social, political and economic forces faintly dissatisfied with the end product."

Those same strengths and limitations continue to characterize the second (*Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era*) and third (*Material Dreams*) books in Starr's "Americans and the California Dream" series. (A projected

fourth book in the series will be entitled *The Dream Endures: California Through the Great Depression.*)

In *Material Dreams*, Starr once again is concerned with "the process whereby California was encountered and settled in imagination and symbol as well as social fact" (p. vii). Special attention is given to the design and material construction of southern California in the early twentieth century, a boom period of dramatic growth. Part I (Foundations in Water), in this reviewer's opinion the most significant of the book's four sections, begins with a discussion of the search for water as the central obsession of the Far West. It highlights various water engineering proposals advocated by such individuals as William Hammond Hall, George Chaffey, and William Mulholland, all of whom challenged fellow Californians to transform their state by means of massive irrigation projects. Part I concludes by relating the indispensable role of water to the building of the Imperial Valley and Los Angeles.

In Part II (The City on the Plain) Starr describes the rise of metropolitan Los Angeles in the 1920s, how it exemplified an "imperial water city," the role of boosterism and real estate activities, the dominance of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, and specific institutions (the University of Southern California, the Department of Water and Power, the Los Angeles Police Department, and the Los Angeles Philharmonic) serving to mold the city's material reality and civic identity. Starr argues in Part III (Materializing History) that southern California architects such as Rudolph Schindler, Richard Neutra, Myron Hunt, Bernard Maybeck, and the Greene brothers imposed on that region its most important cultural features. He also shows how the elites of Santa Barbara deliberately rejected the L. A. model in favor of a more tightly controlled, refined, genteel, exclusive (and exclusionary) alternative that integrated agricultural and resort elements. Part IV (Life and Letters in the Southland) deals with the urban intelligentsia of Los Angeles and the local culture of book collecting and printing.

In a brief Epilogue Starr mentions in passing that the material reality of southern California was created "by private elites who controlled public resources, land and water, and the mechanisms of government at the municipal, county, state, and federal levels" (p. 390). He refers (p. 391) to a "Southern California Raj—an orchestration of business, financial, political, and governmental power, all of it controlled by one oligarchy . . ." Unfortunately, these analytical insights do not inform much of the preceding text. As a result, *Material Dreams* is more a series of disconnected, though lively and often fascinating, essays than a coherent historical interpretation. CHS



Lotta Crabtree as a young woman. Lotta's theatrical career began in childhood, with singing and dancing in the California mines. She went on to enjoy national fame and wealth as the highest-paid American actress of her day. *Courtesy San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum.*

The San Francisco Stage: From Gold Rush to Golden Spike, 1849-1869.

By Misha Berson. (San Francisco: The San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum, Journal No. 2, 1989, 100 pp., \$15.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Marvin R. Nathan, Professor of Humanities at San Francisco State University and Coordinator of the San Francisco Interdisciplinary Humanities Course.

This brief recapitulation of the early years of the San Francisco stage during its first two decades is part one of a projected two-volume work carrying local theatrical history down to the

year 1906. The written text, slightly over half the contents of the book, stands mainly as an accompanying catalogue to a diverse selection of 82 illustrations from the Performing Arts Library and Museum Collection (PALM). The visual material, including photographs, engravings, posters, and playbills, presents a number of rarely-seen images of early show business personalities and is the centerpiece of the book. Of particular interest are illustrations of early San Francisco theaters from the Adelphi (1851) to the California (1869), although the fine George Fardon photograph of "Yankee" Robinson's American Theatre (1851) is not reproduced, presumably because PALM does not possess an original.

In her introduction, the author asserts that her intended audience is "the general public and the many armchair

students of California cultural history." As for "providing a detailed, inclusive study of the entire range of theatrical activity . . . That I leave to academic scholars." She concludes by stating her agreement with Thomas Carlyle that "history" is "the essence of innumerable biographies." True to her word, eight of the fourteen chapters are more or less chronological compilations of biographical data on and theatrical performances by such familiar figures as Robinson, Stephen Massett, Tom Maguire, Caroline Chapman, the Booths, Biscaccianti, Lola Montez, Lotta Crabtree, Adah and several others. Also true to her word, Berson compels the reader who wishes to find in this volume a serious analysis of the literary conventions of original San Francisco dramatic material or musical lyrics, of stagecraft, acting styles, the economics of local theater, or of the more profound cultural symbols evident in early dramatic and musical material, to seek elsewhere. Certainly there is enough cultural material in "Yankee" Robinson's lyrics to "A Used-Up Man" for any self-respecting semioticist to create about for pages. Here, the song gets two sparing sentences.

Though the text is written in a lively manner and gives a reasonably accurate factual account of the important people, performances, and related events of the period, the level of interpretation tends to be cursory, and the material often seems very familiar. Indeed, the author relies heavily on four secondary works, the latest of which was published in 1950. And, except for some shrewd insights about the internal ethnic contradictions in the black-faced minstrel show and the uniqueness of stagecraft in Chinese opera, there is little evidence in this book that it was written in 1989, rather than 1949. Even the prose style, with its high-spirited language and its constant reminders about the tragic consequences of fame, reminds one of the way San Francisco history was written a half-century ago. Ironically, the most telling and original parts of *The San Francisco Stage* appear not in its "innumerable biographies," but in its more culturally generalized chapters on the minstrel show, Chinese theatre, and the advent of national theatrical companies after 1869.

Taken as a brief and somewhat glib reconstruction of early San Francisco theatrical history, *The San Francisco Stage* does do an adequate job of framing the book's plentiful illustrations. However, when she strays from her subject into related topics, the author sometimes runs afoul in less familiar areas of scholarship. She sets a dramatic performance at Woodward's Gardens in 1860, six years before the amusement park opened; and we see Vigilance Committee victim Charles Cora hanged in Portsmouth Square rather than from the facade of Fort Gunnybags some blocks away on Sacramento Street. More



Lola Montez came to America in 1851 from England. During her thirteen-year dancing career, some of which was spent in Grass Valley and San Francisco, she created and performed the exotic "spider dance." Courtesy San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum.



Ernest Orlando Lawrence, holding the first cyclotron.
Courtesy University of California, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory.

seriously, she repeats the old tale about how the tragic life of actor Edwin Booth caused him never to have smiled for a photograph, illustrating her point with four unsmiling *carte de visite* views of Booth, though no one familiar with the conventions of Victorian studio photography, especially as they applied to famous male public figures, let alone self-styled tragedians, would use such evidence to prove so shaky a psychological theory. While there is little new territory explored in Ms. Berson's text, she gets decent marks for resurrecting and giving an animated treatment to the intriguing beginnings of the Bay Area theatrical tradition. And all people interested in California regional history should be grateful for the existence in San Francisco of so rich and distinctive a resource as The Performing Arts Library and Museum. CHS

Lawrence and His Laboratory: A History of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, Volume One.

By J. L. Heilbron and Robert W. Seidel. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, xxvii, 586 pp., \$29.95 cloth).

Reviewed by William L. Cumiford, Assistant Curator, History Division, Natural History Museum, Los Angeles County.

The first volume of *Lawrence and His Laboratory*, by J. L. Heilbron and Robert W. Seidel, presents a history of the formative years of the famous Berkeley physics laboratory pioneered by Ernest Lawrence in the 1930s. Two additional volumes will carry the lab's story through World War II and into the contemporary era. This book chronicles the role of Lawrence's cyclotron as a prototype accelerator on the cutting edge of twentieth-century nuclear physics.

Lawrence and His Laboratory is a formidable account of modern science and technology, but also opens a fascinating vista on the research emphasis of higher education and its omnipresent corollary: the influence of large, external, financial grants in making the modern university. As a professorial personality, Lawrence emerges from these pages not as a theoretical genius or science *savant*, but rather as a hard-headed pitch-man for the new physics technology. Heilbron and Seidel forthrightly expose Lawrence's questionable physics and skewed chemistry, but give the devil his due when recounting Lawrence's unparalleled success in fundraising and in mesmerizing University of California officials, while preaching the gospel of progress through the cyclotron.

Ernest Lawrence arrived in Berkeley as a bona fide whiz-kid, and quickly exploited his advanced billing as a top young scientist to gain tenure and promotion. His interest in the cyclotron coincided with other accelerator experiments (particularly those in England), but more importantly occurred during the robust Berkeley days of inventiveness and experimentation. By 1930, physics of the classroom—as evidenced by J. R. Oppenheimer's work in theory—was about to merge with forays into large-scale laboratory experimentation.

Despite the impending hard times, UC President Robert Gordon Sproul unstintingly labored for the creation of the cyclotron lab and proved responsive to Lawrence's unceasing pressure for bigger and better accelerators. From the very beginning of his association with the university, Lawrence cultivated close administrative relations with Sproul and key financial supporters of the institution. Perceiving the curative potential of bombarding cancerous tissue beyond penetration levels achieved through standard X-ray technology, Lawrence unleashed his entrepreneurial energies on private foundations with amazing success.

In fact, the cyclotron's incredible rise to fame owed much to Lawrence's skills as a huckster for modern science. Having reached his initial goals by disintegrating particle nuclei, Lawrence unabashedly predicted unprecedented cyclotron accomplishments, from advances in medical research to the development of atomic energy. The Berkeley lab gained an early reputation as the Mecca of modern "big science," with Lawrence as the proselytizing prophet crisscrossing the nation in search of money and supporters.

More critical in terms of scientific approach, however, were Lawrence's organizing abilities and the resulting teamwork that made "big physics" possible. From Berkeley's Mecca issued forth a generation of young physicists, chemists, and engineers who were instrumental in establishing or sustaining cyclotron projects across the country, most of which were affiliated with other major universities. One of the more engaging parts of the book (chapter five), in fact, details the apprenticeship of the rising mid-twentieth-century nuclear generation at Berkeley and its dispersion throughout the nation. Lawrence heartily supported this trend through a magnanimous sharing of data, while maintaining a copious correspondence with colleagues in Europe and on the East Coast and dispatching a whole generation of "cyclotroneers" as lab instructors to Yale, Princeton, Purdue, the University of Michigan, and other institutions. Moreover, a number of Lawrence's noteworthy disciples joined the ranks of private industry, strengthening the growing symbiotic relationship between big business and higher education.

Appropriately, this first volume closes with the laboratory in transition from civil to wartime research. In 1940 and 1941 Lawrence directed cyclotron conversion to uranium separation, resulting in the development of the "calutron," a modified mass-spectrograph apparatus designed for early atomic studies. By the fall of 1941 Lawrence had dedicated himself and his laboratory wholeheartedly to wartime research.

Heilbron and Seidel's dispassionate study offers an encompassing view of large-scale modern physics, but also reveals the twentieth-century's enrapture with science and technological progress. For the non-physicist, the technical and mathematical data presented here are daunting; but the excellent use of graphs, tables, and contemporary photographs enlivens the study considerably. However, it is the human side of the story—the scientific laboratory as high-altar of cultural veneration—that distinguishes this volume as an important commentary on the sanctity of science and technology in modern industrial society. CHS

The San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-Century.

By Michael Davidson. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, xvi, 248pp.)

Reviewed by John E. Jordan, Professor Emeritus of English at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of several books on British Romantics.

"Tis distance lends enchantment to the view" wrote Thomas Campbell. He was talking about distant mountains, but chronological distance has a similar softening, enhancing effect. Witness the surge of interest in the literary "excitements" associated with San Francisco some forty years ago. Allen Ginsberg, in 1957 perhaps best known for the obscenity trials of *Howl*, in 1984 was celebrated by the publication of his monumental *Collected Poems* and two years later, an elaborate *Original Draft Facsimile, Transcript and Variant Versions* of the once offensive poem. In 1987 Arthur and Kit Knight edited *The Beat Vision*; recently Neal Cassady's wife Carolyn brought out *Off the Road: My Years with Cassady, Kerouac, and Ginsberg*; and now we have Michael Davidson's *The San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-Century*.

Davidson begins his Preface: "This book owes a great deal to all of those well-intentioned English teachers who never said a word about the literary movement going on in San Francisco during the late 1950s and early 1960s." This reviewer

was probably one such teacher. In 1947, fresh from a Johns Hopkins Ph.D., I joined the Berkeley English Department, and in the early years I shared at different times offices with two poets whose names appear in Davidson's text. I had another as a reader in one of my courses, hired another to teach in a summer session, and was slightly acquainted with still another. Yet I had really little idea that a poetic rebirth was under way in San Francisco; I was caught up in the detached, text-centered, metaphysical, ambiguity-valuing New Critical movement, which had just taken over academia, and against which the expressive outburst was partly rebelling. I am grateful to Davidson for setting it forth in a sensitive, scholarly manner.

As Davidson's subtitle indicates, he is concerned with the sense of community behind this renaissance, the "enabling fictions" that made communities possible; he probes the coteries, the pluralism, the participation poetic, the performative style. Of course there were, as Davidson recognizes, other communities than the North Beach San Francisco scene: Yvor Winters headed a group at Stanford; across the Bay the "Activists" flourished around Lawrence Hart; Duncan led a "Berkeley renaissance"; and in the East another group fermented at Black Mountain. But Davidson appropriately focuses on San Francisco as representative. He begins with "The Elegiac Mode" resulting from "the loss of a radical tradition" and treats the important work of Kenneth Rexroth. He discusses "The Darkness Surrounds Us" with Beat writers Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and Michael McClure, analyzes the more precise objective styles of Gary Snyder and Philip Whalen, the dense traditionalism of Robert Duncan, and the linguistic objectivism of Jack Spicer. He considers the generally secondary roles of women writers in these often homosexual "Boys' Clubs," dealing with the work of Helen Adam, Joanne Kyger, and Judy Grahn, and he closes with comments on the current scene.

In all this, Davidson is to be commended for generally resisting the beguiling enchantments of distance: although sympathetic, he can find occasional pomposity, leadenness, clottedness, and contradiction. Perhaps he sometimes shows suspicious ingenuity in justifying opaque passages and some of the more extreme discontinuities of open form and of "Beast language" and "language writing." The erudition behind this work is impressive; this was a more learned renaissance than some of its detractors suggest. Davidson is especially insightful in pointing out many ways in which the movement continued and extended romanticism. His book is dedicated to Roy Harvey Pearce, and in ideas and style shows the influence of *The Continuity of American Poetry*—antinomianism, Whitman, Emerson, and Thoreau are ever in the background. CHS

For Earth's Sake: The Life and Times of David Brower.

By David R. Brower. (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1990, 556 pp., \$24.99.)

Reviewed by A. W. Baxter of Berkeley, California.

David Brower's autobiography (published in the author's 78th year) will be of interest to students of conservation history and to readers with a taste for dramatic interactions among traits of individual character, institutional development, and political action upon a national stage. Although Brower gives credit to such colleagues as Howard Zahniser of the Wilderness Society and Ira Gabrielson of the Wildlife Management Institute, and to important contributions from other conservationists active in political battles for expanded national parks, wilderness areas, and wildlife reserves, the book properly emphasizes Brower's own role as a leading articulator of the ethical and aesthetic ideologies that ground the conservationists' set of land-use preferences.

In 1952 Brower became the Sierra Club's first executive director. During his tenure he helped to build the club from a California-centered organization of 7000 to a strong national force with over 77,000 members and to launch it on a growth curve that has reached an international membership of over half a million. In 1969, after protracted and public disagreements over financial management and subordination to directorial authority, Brower was fired by club directors who had been among his closest friends and oldest climbing companions. The public dismissal was the stuff of tragedy, and it caused lasting divisions among strong-minded men who lacked the flexibility to compromise on the organizational tactics to be used in service of shared conservation goals.

Brower went on, with associates, to found the Friends of the Earth, from which he was again fired, also after disputes over money management. In 1983 he was reelected to a Sierra Club directorship by a landslide and love-laden vote. Brower takes pride in his honorary vice-presidency of the Sierra Club, but not to the extent of allowing the conflicting operational visions of others to prevail against his own. Brower resigned again from the board in 1988.

There are touches of distinction about Brower in large ways and small. He has great polemical eloquence, and this ability is well-displayed in the second half of the book, which has been cut and pasted up from materials published earlier and elsewhere. These long excerpts, linked by connecting narratives, offer the service of an anthology to

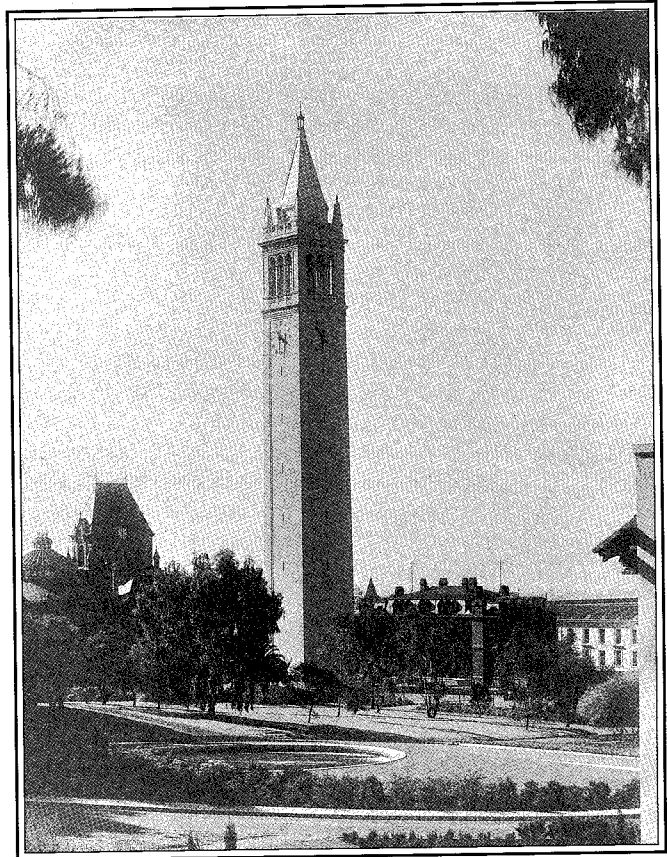
readers not familiar with Brower's diverse writings in their original settings.

John McPhee calls Brower the "Great Druid" and correctly identifies both his function as a prophet and his billowing self-confidence in the verity and value of his conservation views. Wallace Stegner, another Brower watcher, says that, "Brower is a good man to have on your side in a fight." Possibly so, if the fight is a barroom brawl wherein operate few rules of evidence and weak constraints upon civility. Brower's polemics can resemble the broken end of a beer bottle; one disagrees with him at one's peril. Brower's opponents are not only wrong, horribly and unaccountably wrong, to prefer a dam to a free river, for example, but evil and ignorant people as well. Brower can be frustrated by his less-than-demon-driven associates.

The book's first thirteen chapters tell of Brower's Berkeley childhood, of his discovery of rock climbing, and his election into the mountaineering elite of the Sierra Club, which found him jobs and drew him into the life of a professional conservationist. His deep friendships are well-described and so are the climbs that forged character and led first to a love of wild mountain environments and, gradually, to a love of all wild places and a passion for their preservation. There is interesting material on Brower's good work as a trainer of mountain troops and as a combat officer with the 10th Mountain Division, trading fire with the German army along its retreat into the Italian Alps.

Brower's noteworthy life and outstanding contributions to conservation deserve, however, an even better and more informative telling. The cut and paste work is a lazy method which does little to explain how and why Brower's intellectual arguments changed in form or emphasis. The reader does not learn enough, for example, about the elements of Brower's internal growth that may have motivated his hardening political tactics toward such external worlds as Forest Service politics or Park Service policy. At the level of hard historical fact, one wishes to know how Brower was supported. Only the names of Kenneth Bechtel and E. H. Mallinckrodt, Jr., are mentioned. Who were the other angels behind the distinguished exhibition format books, the travel, and the leisure to prepare effective and often technical testimony? How and toward what other ends were the angels mobilized?

Oil companies, the whole nuclear power industry, and the Bureau of Land Management have been among Brower's Goliaths. Read the book; admire David's fearful sling; look forward to the promised Volume II, which may enlarge the historical clues to an interesting life spent among resounding personal and political controversies. CHS



The campanile, University of California, Berkeley campus, ca. 1930s. Photograph by Gabriel Moulin. *Courtesy California State Library and Moulin Studios, San Francisco.*

Berkeley At War: The 1960s.

By W. J. Rorabaugh. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, xii, 277 pp., \$24.95.)

Reviewed by Jules Tygiel, Professor of History, San Francisco State University.

On October 1, 1964, campus police at the University of California at Berkeley escorted former student Jack Weinberg into a waiting police car on the Sproul Hall plaza. Weinberg had committed the dubious crime of manning a table on behalf of southern civil rights workers, a violation of a recently promulgated ban on campus political activities. Within moments, hundreds of students surrounded the police car and prevented its departure. The Free Speech Movement (FSM), heralding an era of nationwide college unrest, had begun. Five years later and five blocks away, at a patch of land christened

"People's Park," an eruption of protest and retaliatory violence offered a dispiriting coda to the forces unleashed by the FSM. As the events in Berkeley in 1964 had unveiled a season of disharmony, the 1969 confrontation proved an equally apt harbinger of the impending chronological and symbolic end of the 1960s.

With mixed results, W. J. Rorabaugh's *Berkeley At War: The 1960s* chronicles the tumultuous years between the rise of the FSM and the fall of People's Park. *Berkeley at War* offers a valuable primer to the controversial events of the Sixties, but at the same time fails to reveal the underlying passions and motivations of the struggles or to place them within the appropriate context of broader national events.

Rorabaugh's Berkeley wisely encompasses both city and university, each of which, he argues, existed during the 1960s in a state of war. Relying upon an impressive array of documents, manuscripts, and periodicals (but no direct interviews), Rorabaugh divides his chapters into color-coded battles: "White" for the saga of the Caucasian-dominated FSM; "Black" for the struggles involving race relations; "Red" to describe the growing militance of the anti-Vietnam War movement; and "Green" to trace the rise of the counterculture and People's Park controversy. What emerges is a three-sided conflict devoid of heroes. Uncompromising conservatives, who became "paranoid reactionaries," vied for power against "naive, foolish, and incompetent" liberals and self-centered radicals, who cynically advanced their cause by orchestrating confrontations and repression, thereby radicalizing their naive constituency.

In depicting this "war," Rorabaugh focuses on the role of the generals rather than that of the foot soldiers. He repeatedly assesses tactics and strategies of university officials, local politicians, and radical leaders, implying that timely maneuvers might have changed the course of history and stemmed the tide of protest.

The shortcomings of this approach become evident in his discussion of the 1964-65 Free Speech Movement. Rorabaugh carefully dissects the strategies of administration figures and FSM leaders, but largely ignores the underlying causes of

student discontent. He dismisses the ideology of the New Left as "shallow rhetoric" and attributes the alienation of the young to a rebellion against "a world created and then frozen into place in 1945" and a future that "promised the inheritance of a sterile world without any chance to alter it." But students in the Sixties feared not societal stasis, but the consequences of the rapid changes that had transformed American society during their lifetimes: bureaucratization, the onset of computers, military adventurism, and revelations of racial inequities. The new multiversity, exemplified in its most extreme form at the University of California, Berkeley, embodied these fears.

It is telling that, while Rorabaugh describes the various rallies, he rarely quotes student speeches and pamphlets. For Rorabaugh, Mario Savio's pungent and pointed metaphor of the university as a "knowledge factory" and the students as "raw materials," appears less important than his oblique sexual imagery. Rorabaugh's tactical emphasis also obscures the fundamental foundation block for the success of the FSM. The students, for all of their excesses, held the moral high ground. The university, in its attempts to limit political discourse, advocated an untenable position. That the issue revolved around fundraising for the civil rights movement, the great moral crusade of that era, further deflated the legitimacy of the administration's position.

"What then, had the sixties, been about?" asks Rorabaugh in conclusion. Unfortunately, he fails to provide a satisfactory answer to this question. Rorabaugh repeatedly defines power as "the underlying issue" of Berkeley's war. This emphasis seems misplaced. In retrospect, the "power" at stake in Berkeley in the Sixties seems minimal. Social and cultural issues, which Rorabaugh concedes had the most far reaching consequences, regrettably play only a supporting role in his analysis. The various movements of the 1960s, whether civil rights, anti-war, or counterculture, were mass movements, drawing their strength and significance from the wellspring of discontent and alienation they tapped. The "war at home," both in Berkeley and elsewhere, was largely a war of the foot soldiers. Their history remains to be written. CHS

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Aleahmad, Linda. *Simi Valley: Toward New Horizons*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. \$27.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-363-4. Order from: Windsor Publications; 9121 Oakdale Avenue; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

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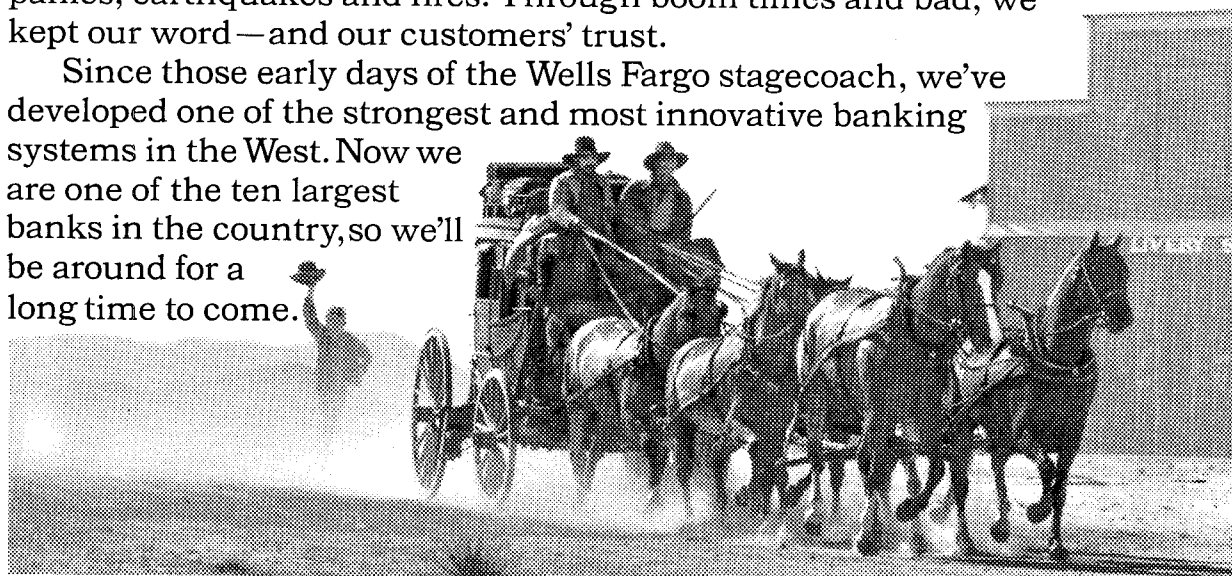
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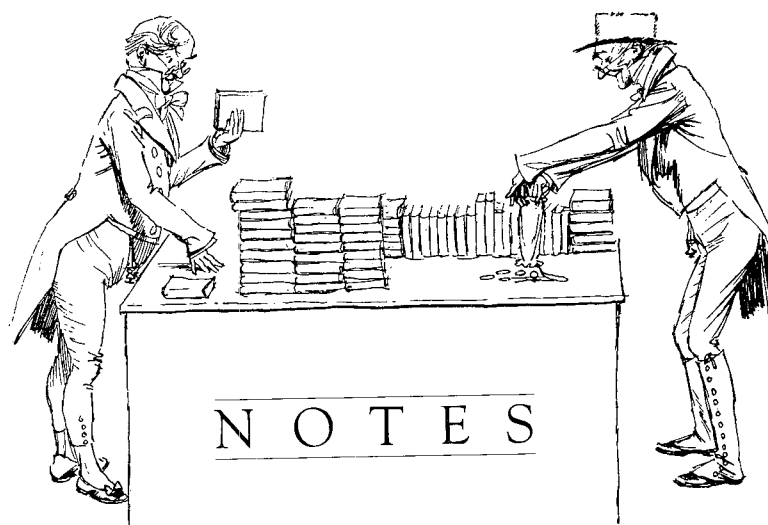
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McKEVITT, *Hispanic Californians*, pp. 320-331.

1. The author wishes to thank Alma Garcia, Richard A. Garcia, and Matt S. Meier for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this essay. The assistance of Julia O'Keefe, Santa Clara University Archivist, is also gratefully acknowledged.

In this study the term "californio" refers to "Mexicans who were living in California when the United States seized the area in 1846 and to their descendants." See Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera, *Dictionary of Mexican American History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), 66.

2. Juan Bautista Alvarado, "History of California," volume 1, chapter 3, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California (hereinafter cited as BL).
3. Meier and Rivera, *Dictionary*, 14.
4. Alvarado, "History of California," vol. 1, chap. 3, BL.
5. Irving G. Hendrick, *The Education of Non-Whites in California, 1849-1970* (San Francisco: R & R Research Associates, Inc., 1977), 1.
6. David Frederic Ferris, *Judge Marvin and the Founding of the California Public School System* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 53.
7. The extent to which Spanish-speaking youngsters enjoyed access to public schools invites further study. In *The Education of Non-Whites in California*, 12, Irving Hendrick maintains that "Hispano Americans were not early targets of discriminating educational legislation," and that they were "apparently accommodated into the American system." He cites as an example Stockton, where twenty-two of the city's thirty Mexican children attended the city's first schools. In Los

Angeles "relatively large numbers of Spanish-speaking students" attended the city's public school at mid-century; but by 1870 "attendance was low," according to Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: a Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 85-87. Albert Camarillo concludes that racial conflict in Santa Barbara kept many Spanish-speaking children away from the city's public schools in the 1850s. See Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 14-17. The history of bilingual schooling and of nineteenth-century education of Hispanic Californians, public as well as private, remains a rich topic of investigation.

8. In 1876 the state operated only fifteen high schools; by 1889 it had only twenty-one. Figures are reported in David J. León and Daniel McNeill, "The Fifth Class: a 19th Century Forerunner of Affirmative Action," *California History* 64 (1985): 57.
9. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 225-26. See also Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 17; and Griswold del Castillo, *Los Angeles Barrio*, 88-89.
10. León and McNeill, "The Fifth Class," 57.
11. Gerald McKEvitt, *The University of Santa Clara: A History, 1851-1977* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 39.
12. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 228.
13. James Alexander Forbes to José Antonio Aguirre, 13 December 1852, "Letter Book of James Alexander Forbes," vol. 1, California State Library, Sacramento, California. Forbes's favorable estimation of the Jesuits was not shared by all *californios*,

however. When fifteen-year old Uladislao Vallejo traveled from California to attend St. John's College (now Fordham University) in 1860, his elder brother who accompanied him informed their father that Ula was "peevish to go because it was a Jesuit Institution and it looked so much like a prison." After several months he had changed his mind: "he likes it first rate; he likes his professors; the rules are not too severe"; but a year later he lost interest in his studies and dropped out of school. Quoted in Madie Brown Emparan, *The Vallejos of California* (San Francisco: The Gleeson Library Associates, 1968), 366.

14. Data was drawn from the college's catalogs and student rosters for the years 1851-1876, which are preserved in the archives of Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, California (hereinafter cited as ASCU). Students were identified by their place of origin and/or by their surname. Approximately 60% of them were from California; about 12% were from out-of-state, and around 27% were from Mexico and other foreign countries. Juan Bautista Alvarado, Jr., was a student there from 1859 until 1861. Another of the former governor's sons, José Francisco Agostino, may have attended briefly in 1863, according to information preserved in "Student Finance, 1856-1867," Ledger 150 (1), ASCU. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, who sent two sons to Santa Clara, may himself perhaps have taken courses there; catalogs for 1855-1857 list a "General Vallejo" in attendance; he is, however, not cited as a student in any of the early account books.
15. The college may have issued other Spanish editions of its catalog, but the only surviving issue is for 1867. Administrators debated in 1894 whether to again

- publish in Spanish, but no copy has been found. The financial importance of the school's Spanish-speaking clientele was also shown by the fact that Santa Clara sent Jesuit faculty on fund-raising tours to Mexico and Central America. See McKeivitt, *University of Santa Clara*, 64, 115.
16. Estudillo attended Santa Clara from 1857 until 1864. His surviving diaries cover the years 1861, 1862, 1864, and 1867. Segments of the 1862 journal have been published in Jesús María Estudillo, *Sketches of California in the 1860s; the Journals of Jesús M. Estudillo*, edited and compiled by Margaret Schlichtmann and Marie Wilson (Fredericksburg, Texas: Awani Press, 1988).
17. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 250.
18. Emparan, *The Vallejos*, 366-67.
19. José G. Estudillo (Los Angeles) to nephew Miguel, May 13, 1906, José María Estudillo Family Papers, BL.
20. Judson A. Grenier, *California Legacy: The James Alexander Watson-María Dolores Domínguez de Watson Family, 1820-1980*, (Los Angeles: Watson Land Company, 1987), 246, 265-66. Enrollment data regarding the Estudillos is contained in "Student Finance, 1856-1867," Ledger 150 (1), ASCU.
21. David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 239.
22. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memories Relating to Alta California," translated by Earl R. Hewitt, BL, vol. 4, p. 80.
23. McKeivitt, *University of Santa Clara*, 40.
24. Ferris, *Judge Marvin*, 56.
25. Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 20.
26. Estudillo, "Diary," Feb. 28, 1862, BL. The mother of his classmate Jacob Leese made similar demands on her son when he was at home. See Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 88. That Jesús María studied Spanish at Santa Clara is clear from a brief journal entry, "After the French and Spanish classes, we went swimming." See Estudillo, "Diary," Oct. 20, 1862, BL.
27. Grenier, *California Legacy*, 129.
28. Quoted in Camarillo, *Chicanos*, 43.
29. George Simpton (San Francisco) to John Nobili, 29 September 1853, John Nobili Papers, ASCU.
30. John Nobili (Santa Clara) to W. M. Keith, 10 June 1853, Nobili Papers, ASCU.
31. José G. Estudillo to William Heath Davis, 8 May 1859, William Heath Davis Collection, California State Library, Sacramento, California.
32. Gregory Mengarini (Santa Clara College) to Abel Stearns, March 26, 1862, Abel Stearns Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
33. In 1867-1868 the Spanish catechism course enrolled 33 students. "Grade Book, 1866-1867," 1 vol.; "Grade Book, 1868-1869," 1 vol.; "Credits for the Year 1873-74," 1 vol., ASCU.
34. Sister Mary Dominica McNamee, *Light in the Valley: the Story of California's College of Notre Dame* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1968), 86-91. According to Gloria E. Miranda, "Hispano-Mexican Childbearing Practices in Pre-American Santa Barbara," *Southern California Quarterly* 65 (Winter 1983): 316, "a formal education was generally unavailable for most young girls in the Spanish and Mexican periods. Opportunities were limited to tutoring or private schooling if affordable for upper class females." They received "at best a rudimentary education commensurate with their future role as wives and mothers." Differences in male and female child rearing are also described in Richard Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 75-76.
35. Estudillo, "Diary," entries for April 19, 1861, and Dec. 7, 1861, BL. To hasten the learning of English by foreign students, a late-nineteenth-century rule of the school required that Spanish-speaking students "should not be allowed to speak Spanish except for the 1st month after coming." See Joseph W. Riordan, S.J., "Notes for the History of Santa Clara College," ASCU. Whether such a regulation was in effect in Estudillo's day is unknown.
36. Estudillo, "Diary," March 26, 1861.
37. McKeivitt, *University of Santa Clara*, 99.
38. Napoleon Vallejo's experiences are recorded in Emparan, *The Vallejos of California*, 382-83.
39. Estudillo, "Diary," April 25, 1861.
40. Ibid., Feb. 27, 1861.
41. Ibid., Oct. 13, 1862.
42. Ibid., April 8, 1864.
43. Ibid., June 14, 1864.
44. For a description of child rearing and discipline in Hispanic California, see Miranda, "Hispano-American Childbearing," 313-14.
45. Estudillo, "Diary," April 26 and June 24, 1862. Annual awards are listed in *Prospectus of Santa Clara College, S.J., Cal. for the years 1856-1864*, ASCU.
46. "Constitution of the Philhistorian Debating Society of Santa Clara College, 1859-1872," 1 vol., ASCU.
47. Estudillo, "Diary," May 16, 1862.
48. Ibid., May 27, 1861.
49. Ibid., May 25, 1861.
50. Ibid., June 25, 1862.
51. Ibid., March 31, 1861.
52. Ibid., May 26, 1861.
53. Ibid., June 13, 1861.
54. Ibid., January 31, 1861.
55. Miranda, "Hispano-Mexican Childbearing Practices," 313.
56. Lindley Bynum, "Los Angeles in 1854-55: the Diary of Rev. James Woods," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 23 (June 1941): 83-84.
57. Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 48. See also Estudillo, "Diary," July 22, 1864.
58. Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1983), 162.
59. Estudillo, "Diary," April 20, 1862. The custom is described in Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 66; Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 129; and Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memories," vol. 4, pp. 68-69.
60. Estudillo, "Diary," April 19, 1867.
61. See "Head Prefect's Log, 1896-1907," entries for Sept. 15, 1896; Sept. 16, 1897; Dec. 12, 1897, ASCU.
62. Silvano M. Tomasi, *Piety and Power: the Role of the Italian Parishes in the New York Metropolitan Area, 1880-1930* (Staten Island, New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1975), 2-3.
63. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 278.
64. Estudillo, "Diary," April 5, 1861. For an interesting comparison with another minority student who attended a Jesuit college, see Philip Gleason, "The Curriculum of the Old-Time Catholic College: A Student's View," *Records of the Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 88 (March-Dec. 1977): 113-14. Gleason analyzes the diaries of James A. Healy, an Afro-American student at Holy Cross College in 1848-1849.
65. Estudillo, "Diary," Jan. 9, 1864.
66. Ibid., March 22-24, 1862.
67. Ibid., Aug. 16, 1862.
68. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1861.
69. Ibid., Oct. 30, 1861.
70. Ibid., May 1, 1862. See also Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 69.
71. Ibid., Aug. 14, 1864.
72. Ibid., June 19, 1862.
73. Ibid., June 6, 1864.
74. Ibid., Mar. 4, 1864.
75. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1864.
76. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 215.
77. The precise ways in which that conflict was expressed are not recorded in the college's history. Although some native Californians were reluctant to share living quarters with Yankees, the majority maintained "an angelic front" when confronted with Anglo behavior that they disapproved, according to McNamee,

Light in the Valley, 77-79.

78. Frederic William Macondray (San Francisco) to Julian [P. Lee], Nov. 1, 1859; Macondray to Pierre [Combs], Nov. 2, 1859; and Macondray to Charlie [Charles P. Tyler], Nov. 1, 1859, in Frederic William Macondray [Letterpress Copybook, Jan. 1859-May, 1860], 1 vol., BL. Estudillo's view of the incident is unknown because his 1859 diary no longer exists.
79. Estudillo, "Diary," Feb. 14, 1864.
80. For reasons that are not clear, his reaction to the honor was, however, mixed. "At first I did not wish to accept the office, but afterwards I consented, not that I cared for the office." Estudillo, "Diary," Feb. 8, 1862.
81. Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 98.
82. Estudillo, "Diary," June 17, 1864.
83. *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1864.
84. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1864.
85. *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1864.
86. Bezique (besigue) became popular in the English-speaking world in the 1860s; Estudillo and his friends played it in 1867, according to Estudillo, "Diary," March 1-7, 1867.
87. Estudillo, "Diary," Aug. 18, 1862.
88. *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1862, and Aug. 23, 1862. See also Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 114.
89. Estudillo, "Diary," July 4, 1862. Celebrations of the Fourth were popular among *californios*. The del Valle family annually hosted a four-day affair at their Rancho Camulos, as described by Pitt in *Decline of the Californios*, 253.
90. Estudillo, "Diary," Nov. 3, 1863.
91. Addendum to Estudillo, "Diary," 1862, BL.
92. Estudillo, "Diary," Aug. 25, 1862.
93. *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1861. A short time after he left Santa Clara, Estudillo was asked why he had not completed Latin and Greek. He replied that "my time at College used to be every year so uncertain" that it had been impossible to plan studies well. See Estudillo, *ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1864.
94. *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1862.
95. *Ibid.*, Oct. 22-23, 1862.
96. *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1864.
97. Quoted in Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 92.
98. Estudillo, "Diary," April 29, 1864.
99. *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1864.
100. Miranda, "Hispano-Mexican Childbearing," 317. By no means were all of Santa Clara's Spanish-speaking students sons of wealthy hacendados. Many *californios* paid a much lower tuition by attending as day scholars rather than as boarders; and Estudillo was not the only Hispanic who had difficulty paying for his education.
101. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 228.
102. *Ibid.*, 269.
103. *Ibid.*, 270-73.
104. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of California* (Santa Barbara: Wallace Heberd, 1965), II, 710, and IV, 728, 763, 770; Schlichtmann, "Research Notes for Chapter 11, Estudillo Manuscript," Schlichtmann Papers, BL; Emperan, *The Vallejos*, 979-99; Albert Shumate, ed., *Boyhood Days: Ygnacio Villegas' Reminiscences of California in the 1850s* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1983), 7-11; Grenier, *California Legacy*, 265; Leonard Pitt, review of *California Legacy*, by Judson A. Grenier, in *California History* 67 (June 1988): 135.
105. Estudillo's death in 1910 is recorded in *San Leandro Reporter*, Aug. 20, 1910. Additional information about his later life is found in Schlichtmann, "Research Notes, Estudillo Manuscript," Schlichtmann Papers, BL. See also Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 268.
106. Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 18.

SIMON, William James, pp. 332-341.

1. Norman Hapgood, *The Changing Years* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1930), 65.
2. Quoted in Rosalind Miller, *Gertrude Stein: Form and Intelligibility* (Jericho, New York: Exposition Press, 1949), 146.
3. Robert Barlett Haas, ed., *A Primer for the Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein* (Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1971), 34.
4. David Starr Jordan, *The Days of a Man* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1922), I, 361, n.1.
5. Quoted in Edith R. Mirrielees, *Stanford: The Story of a University* (New York: Putnam's, 1959), 23.
6. As Jordan wrote in his autobiography, "it was in accordance with a special request of Mrs. Stanford made before her death that this eminent philosopher with a child's joyous attitude toward every new experience had come to us"; Jordan, *Days of a Man*, 174.
7. William James (hereinafter WJ) to David Starr Jordan, 22 March 1899, Stanford University Archives.
8. WJ to David Starr Jordan, 14 January 1905, Stanford University Archives.
9. WJ diary, 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard. Quotations from William James's diary are by permission of Houghton Library, Harvard University, and Alexander James, Glandore, County Cork, Ireland.
10. WJ to Alice James, 11 January 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
11. WJ to Henry James, 1 February 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.

12. WJ to Theodore Flournoy, 9 February 1906, in *The Letters of William James and Theodore Flournoy*, ed. Robert C. LeClair (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 174-75.
13. WJ to Alice James, 24 January 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
14. WJ notebook, 1906, entry facing p. 67, dated 12 January, Houghton Library, Harvard.
15. WJ notebooks, 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
16. *Ibid.*
17. WJ to Flournoy, 9 February 1906, LeClair, ed., *Letters*, 175-76.
18. WJ to Henry James, 22 April 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
19. William James, "On Some Mental Effects of the Earthquake," in *Memories and Studies* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1917), 211. This essay appeared first in *Youth's Companion*, 7 June 1906.
20. Mirrielees, *Stanford*, 135.
21. WJ to Horace Davis, 19 April 1906, Stanford University Archives.
22. WJ to Henry James, 9 May 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*

LAZAROWITZ, Hiram Johnson, pp. 342-353.

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1. Otis L. Graham, Jr., *An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 6. See also Ronald A. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives in the United States Senate and the New Deal, 1933-1939* (New York: Garland Press, 1979), 1.
2. See Mark H. Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform: The New Deal and Taxation, 1933-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
3. Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 277.

4. Spencer C. Olin, Jr., *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 171; Gladwin Hill, *Dancing Bear: An Inside Look at California Politics* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1968), 41; Jackson K. Putnam, *Modern California Politics, 1917-1980* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1980), 2.
5. U. S. Congress, Senate, 65th Cong., 1st sess., August 20, 1917, *Congressional Record*, LV, pt. 6, 6185; John James Fitzpatrick, "Senator Hiram W. Johnson: A Life History, 1866-1945" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 62; Robert E. Burke, ed., *Diary Letters of Hiram Johnson I* (New York: Garland Press, 1983), 27; Seward W. Livermore, *Politics is Adjourned: Woodrow Wilson and the War Congress, 1916-1918* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), 60-61; Peter Gerard Boyle, "The Study of an Isolationist: Hiram W. Johnson" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970), 40, 54, 56, 63, 95.
6. Letters to Archibald Johnson, September 7, 1917, and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, March 16, 1918, in *Diary Letters I*.
7. Boyle, "The Study of an Isolationist," 96; *Congressional Record*, 65th Cong, 1st sess., September 1, 1917, LV, pt. 7, 6496.
8. U. S. Congress, Senate, 65th Cong, 1st sess., August 20, 1917, *Congressional Record*, LV, pt. 6, 6184, 6497.
9. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., July 23, 1917, in *Diary Letters I*.
10. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 1; Ronald L. Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism: The Western Republican Senators and the New Deal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 6-7; Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons*, 97-98; Fitzpatrick, "Hiram Johnson," 172; quotation in LeRoy Ashby, *The Spearless Leader: Senator Borah and the Progressive Movement in the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 15. See also Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 265, for an even less flattering portrait.
11. Mowry, *California Progressives*, 291-92.
12. Burke, *Diary Letters I*, 39; letter to Archibald and Hiram W. Johnson (hereinafter referred to as sons), September 23, 1921, in *Diary Letters III*; quoted in Leroy Ashby, *The Spearless Leader: Senator Borah and the Progressive Movement in the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 282, 285-86.
13. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 7-8; Robert E. Burke, "A Friendship in Adversity: Burton K. Wheeler and Hiram W. Johnson," *Montana XXXIV* (Winter 1986): 12, 16, 18.
14. For example, see letter to sons, October 1, 1921, in *Diary Letters III*.
15. Letter to sons, October 1, 1921, in *Diary Letters III*.
16. Letter to sons, March 27, 1924, in *Diary Letters IV*.
17. U.S. Congress, Senate, 68th Cong, 1st sess., May 24, 1924, *Congressional Record*, LXV, pt. 9, 9417.
18. Benjamin G. Rader, "Federal Taxation in the 1920s: A Reexamination," *The Historian III* (May 1971): 416, 424-28; John F. Witte, *The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 90; and Erik Olssen, "Dissent from Normalcy: Progressives in Congress, 1918-1925" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Duke University, 1970), 259.
19. Eugene W. Tobin, *Organize or Perish: America's Independent Progressives, 1913-1933* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 151, quoted on 172.
20. Rader, "Federal Taxation in the 1920s," 427.
21. Letter, Johnson to John Francis Nylan, March 10, 1933, Johnson Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, part III, box 14.
22. Letter to Hiram Johnson, Jr., August 1, 1935, in *Diary Letters VI*.
23. George Mowry, "Hiram Johnson," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Supplement III, 1941-1945, 397; see also Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, iii.
24. Letter to sons, December 27, 1931, in *Diary Letters V*; Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism*, 36.
25. Burke, *Diary Letters I*, 16, 51; Robert Burke, "The Political Oratory of Hiram Johnson," *Journal of the West*, XXVII (April 1988): 22.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Letter to sons, May 1, 1932, in *Diary Letters V*.
28. Letter to Archibald Johnson, January 22, 1933, in *Diary Letters V*.
29. Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism*, 50-51.
30. Letter to sons, March 19, 1933, in *Diary Letters V*.
31. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 33.
32. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., January 22, 1933, in *Diary Letters V*.
33. Fred Greenbaum, "Hiram Johnson and the New Deal," *Pacific Historian XVIII* (Fall 1974): 24. Letter to Charles K. McClatchy, January 29, 1933, Johnson Papers, part III, box 14.
34. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., April 1, 1933, in *Diary Letters V*.
35. Quoted in James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933-1939* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), 13.
36. Ellis Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly: A Study in Economic Ambivalence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 344-45; Sidney Ratner, *American Taxation: Its History as a Social Force in Democracy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1942), 467.
37. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 116.
38. San Francisco Examiner, April 12, 1934, editorial; see also May 16, 1934, 16. On April 12, 1934, in the Los Angeles Examiner, he urged taxpayers to organize. And on the same date, in the Seattle Post-Inquirer, he called for "DEFEAT AT THE POLLS" for those voting for taxes.
39. San Francisco Examiner, May 3, 1934, 14.
40. Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons*, 182.
41. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., April 19, 1934, in *Diary Letters VI*.
42. Letter to Charles K. McClatchy, August 18, 1934, Johnson Papers, part III, box 16; Rodney P. Carlisle, *Hearst and the New Deal: The Progressive as Reactionary* (New York: Garland Press, 1979), 30.
43. Fitzpatrick, "Hiram Johnson," 243; Burke, *Diary Letters VI*.
44. Letter to Irving Martin, May 28, 1933, Johnson Papers, part III, box 14.
45. Ronald A. Mulder, "The Progressive Insurgents in the United States Senate, 1935-1936: Was There A Second New Deal?" *Mid-America LVII* (April 1972): 108; Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days, 1933-1936*, vol. I (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), 363.
46. Letter to sons, February 12, 1933, in *Diary Letters V*.
47. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., February 4, 1934, in *Diary Letters VI*.
48. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., March 3, 1935, in *Diary Letters VI*.
49. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., March 10, 1935, in *Diary Letters VI*.
50. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., April 28, 1935, in *Diary Letters VI*.
51. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., February 4, 1934, in *Diary Letters V*.
52. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of Upheaval*, vol. III (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1960), 326; John Morton Blum, *Roosevelt and Morgenthau* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1970), 148-49; Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problems of Monopoly*, 345-46; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 152; James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1956), 224-26; Ratner, *American Taxation*, 116; Herbert Stein, *The Fiscal Revolution in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 82; Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*,

- 79; Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform*, 127, 135.
53. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, 327; Blum, *Roosevelt and Morgenthau*, 149-50.
54. U.S. Congress, Senate, 74th Cong, 1st sess., January 4, 1935, *Congressional Record*, LIX, pt. 1, 95.
55. Quoted in Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism*, 59.
56. Samuel J. Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. IV (New York: Random House 1938), 270-77.
57. Roy C. Blakey and Gladys C. Blakey, "The Revenue Act of 1935," *American Economic Review* XXX (December 1935): 673. See also William Withers, "American Federal Finance," in *Taxation and Public Policy: A Discussion of the Current Problem of American and European Public Finance*, ed. by Paul Studenski (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1936), 54; Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 152; and Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal*, 58-69.
58. Raymond Moley, *After Seven Years* (New York: Harper and Row, 1939), 308, 310, 316-17. See Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly*, 345; Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 327; Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform*, 136.
59. See Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 328; Blum, *Roosevelt and Morgenthau*, 303.
60. John Morton Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries: Years of Crisis, 1928-1938* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1959), 303.
61. Erik Olssen, "The Progressive Group in Congress, 1922-1929," *The Historian* XLII (February 1980): 263.
62. Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform*, 141.
63. *New York Times*, June 22, 1935, 2.
64. *New York Times*, June 21 and 22, 1935. See Patrick J. Maney, "Young Bob LaFollette": A Biography of Robert W. LaFollette, Jr., 1895-1953 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978), 165.
65. Roy C. Blakey and Gladys C. Blakey, *The Federal Income Tax* (London: Longmans, Green, 1942), 370.
66. *New York Times*, June 25, 1935.
67. Paul, *Taxation in the United States*, 187-88; Witte, *The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax*, 101.
68. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, 334-35.
69. Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform*, 2, 93.
70. Witte, *The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax*, 101-2.
71. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, 334.
72. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, ii, 122, 127.
73. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., June 29, 1935, in *Diary Letters VI*.
74. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., July 21,

1935, in *Diary Letters VI*.

75. Burke, "A Friendship in Adversity," 14; Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 152-53.
76. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., November 15, 1936, in *Diary Letters VI*.

MAHAN, Urban Growth, pp. 354-371.

1. Brief, but balanced, summaries of the controversy can be found in Zane L. Miller and Patricia M. Melvin, *The Urbanization of America: A Brief History*, 2nd ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich, 1987), especially 105-24; Raymond A. Mohl, *The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920* (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1985), especially 81-138; Martin J. Schiesl, *The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America, 1880-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 6-24, 189-98.
2. Mohl, 107, and Alan A. Hynding, *California Historymakers* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1976), 55. Historical research on political leadership in pre-World War I San Francisco is particularly rich. See especially Alexander Callow, "Chris Buckley: San Francisco's Blind Boss," *Pacific Historical Review* 25 (August 1956): 261-79, and William A. Bullough, *The Blind Boss and His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth Century San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).
3. John A. Garraty and Robert A. McCaughy, *The American Nation: A History of the United States Since 1865* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 553.
4. *Sacramento Union*, 29 September 1913, 1.
5. The Sacramento Museum and History Division, under the energetic leadership of James Henley and professional curators, has assembled massive quantities of local historical documents never before available to students and scholars.
6. Oscar Lewis, *The Big Four: The Story of Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins and Crocker and of the Building of the Central Pacific* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1938).
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8. California Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, *Duplicate Certificate of Death, County of Sacramento*, 1913, Image 0619.
9. Sacramento County, *Great Register of Sacramento County, 1874-1880*.
10. *The Sacramento Directory for the Year 1880*

(Sacramento: H. S. Crocker and Company, 1880), 91.

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15. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Volume II* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 139.
16. Thomas H. Thompson and Albert Augustus West, *History of Sacramento County, California* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1880), 144.
17. Joseph A. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1961), II, 10-18.
18. Joseph A. McGowan and Terry R. Willis, *Sacramento: Heart of the Golden State* (Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, Incorporated, 1983), 63.
19. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States, 1880* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 109, 416, 447.
20. United States Census Office, *Census Reports, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), I, 432-33.
21. *Bee*, 11 May 1892, 4.
22. Thomas Padilla, "The Selection of the Freeholders Framing the 1893 Sacramento City Charter" (1983), unpublished research paper filed with the Sacramento Museum and History Division.
23. *Bee*, 17 May 1892, 2.
24. *Ibid.*, 13 May 1892, 1, and 17 May 1892, 2.
25. *California State Senate Concurrent Resolution Number Two*, 1893.
26. Andrew D. White, "The Government of American Cities," *Forum*, December 1890, 368.
27. Schiesl, *Politics of Efficiency*, 63.
28. *Charter of the City of Sacramento*, 1893, Section 32.
29. *Charter of 1893*, Section 197, and elsewhere in that document. See also Thomas Padilla, "Sacramento City Charters and Marshall R. Beard" (1983), unpublished

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30. Myrtle Shaw Lord, *A Sacramento Saga: Fifty Years of Achievement-Chamber of Commerce Leadership* (Sacramento: Chamber of Commerce, 1946), 8-13.
31. Lord, *Saga*, 26, 27, 30, 250, 256, 367.
32. *Ibid.*, 258.
33. *Ibid.*, 253.
34. *Bee*, 16 October 1907, 1.
35. Ernesto Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972).
36. See, for example, *Bee*, 5 October 1907, 10.
37. *Ibid.*, 17 February 1917, 1, and 25 June 1928, 1.
38. See, for example, *Sacramento Union*, 28 October 1909, 1. Fox was accused of vetoing Mayor Beard's decision to appoint Clinton L. White to the job of city attorney. Beard responded that he rejected White because White was considered to be an "old fossil."
39. *Record-Union*, Sacramento, 23 September 1899, 4; 25 September 1899, 4; 26 September 1899, 2; 4 October 1899, 4.
40. *Bee*, 9 November 1892, 3.
41. *Ibid.*, 7 November 1893, 1.
42. *Record-Union*, 25 September 1899, 4; 29 September 1899, 3.
43. *Ibid.*, 6 October 1899, 6.
44. *Ibid.*, 3 November 1899, 4; 8 November 1899, 4.
45. *Sacramento Union*, 4 November 1903, 3.
46. Lord, *Saga*, 31.
47. *Sacramento Union*, 8 November 1905, 3.
48. *Ibid.*, 9 January 1906, 9.
49. Officials of both the Southern Pacific and the Western Pacific issued statements denying that the SP had opposed Western Pacific's campaign to enter Sacramento. *Bee*, 5 October 1907, 1.
50. *Bee*, 23 October 1907, 3.
51. *Ibid.*, 7 September 1925, 5.
52. *Ibid.*, 3 October 1907, 1.
53. *Ibid.*, 2 November 1907, 3.
54. *Ibid.*, 1 November 1907, 4.
55. *Sacramento Union*, 4 November 1907, 1; *Bee*, 4 November 1907, 14.
56. *Bee*, 5 November 1907, 1.
57. *Sacramento Union*, 6 November 1907, 4.
58. *Bee*, 6 November 1907, 1, 4.
59. *Ibid.*, 3 November 1909, 1.
60. *Sacramento Weekly and Alta California*, photos of Beard, supporting editorials, and political advertisements appear in the issues of 16, 23, 30 October and 6 November 1909.
61. *Bee*, 2 November 1909, 1; 3 November 1909, 11; 6 November 1909, 1.
62. *Sacramento Union*, 3 November 1909, 1.
63. *Bee*, 3 November 1909, 1; 8 November 1909, 5.
64. Kirk Saville, "Mayor Beard and the Machine: Elections in Sacramento, 1905-1911" (n.d.), unpublished research paper filed in the Sacramento Museum and History Division.
65. United States Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 800-804; Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), II, 139.
66. William L. Willis, *History of Sacramento County, California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1913), 279-90.
67. *Thirteenth Census*, II, 139.
68. *Bee*, 2 November 1911, 2.
69. Thomas Padilla, "George Washington Radonich and Sacramento City Politics" (1983), unpublished research paper filed in the Sacramento Museum and History Division. See also the *Bee*, 13 November 1907, 1; 1 November 1909, 4; 3 November 1909, 11; 18 May 1912, 1; 2 September 1915, 5; 1 October 1920, 1; 20 October 1920, 5; and the *Sacramento Union*, 26 August 1899, 4; 26 June 1906, 11; 3 March 1907, 13. The author has no evidence that Radonich was ever convicted of any charge. He died in Marin County in 1929.
70. See, for example, *Bee*, 14 October 1907, 5.
71. *Bee*, 14 October 1907, 5; 15 October 1907, 3.
72. *Record-Union*, 16 June 1899, 2; 24 June 1899, 2.
73. *Ibid.*, 1 October 1899, 2.
74. Superintendent of United States Census, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington: Public Printer, 1853), 969; *Twelfth Census*, I, 648.
75. *Bee*, 16 October 1907, 4; 2 October 1907, 5; City of Sacramento, *Record of the Board of Trustees, 1905*, 129.
76. Section 221, *Sacramento City Charter of 1893*.
77. *Constitution of the State of California*, Article XI, Section 8, and *Sacramento City Charter of 1893*, Sections 231 and 232.
78. This paragraph relies heavily on Mohl, *The New City*. Also useful for an understanding of the motives of reformers are Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search For Order: 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 44-75; Melvin G. Holli, *Reform in Detroit: Hazen S. Pingree and Urban Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 161-81; Otis A. Pease, "Urban Reformers in the Progressive Era: A Reassessment," *PacificNorthwest Quarterly* 62 (April 1971): 49-59; John D. Buenker, *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), and Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 55 (October 1964): 157-69.
79. *Bee*, 12 June 1912, 1.
80. Schiesl, *Politics of Efficiency*, 2, 3; Gabriel Kolko, *Main Currents in American History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 303-5.
81. Lord, *Saga*, 41, 54. As mayor, Beard had a regular seat on the board.
82. *Sacramento Union*, 28 October 1909, 1.
83. See, for example, McGowan and Willis, 70-76, and Reed, *History of Sacramento County*, 174. Regarding the new Del Paso Park, see the *Sacramento Union*, 27 August 1910, 3.
84. *Sacramento Union*, 4 January 1910, 1; 24 March 1910, 3; 25 March 1910, 1; *Bee*, 2 November 1911, 8.
85. *Sacramento Union*, 1 August 1910, 5.
86. *Ibid.*, 1 November 1907, 1.
87. *Ibid.*, 23 August 1910, 1.
88. Settlement worker Robert A. Woods, quoted in Wiebe, *Search for Order*, 174.
89. *Bee*, 26 June 1911, 5. Only 601 people voted.
90. *Sacramento City Charter of 1911, Sacramento County Records, Book 7, 1912*, 479 ff. See especially Articles 25, 26, and 27.
91. *Bee*, 6 May 1912, 1. Carraghar got 6190 votes and Beard 5728.
92. *Bee*, 12 June 1912, 1; William V. Shannon, "The Age of the Bosses," *American Heritage*, June 1969, 29.
93. *Bee*, 17 May 1933, 2; 30 June 1917, 1; 2 July 1914, 1.
94. The significance of the women's vote is shown by comparing Carraghar's winning total of 6190 votes in the primary to Burke's 10,701 in the run-off. Beard had swept the west end precincts as usual: in the two lowest numbered precincts, he ran ahead of Mrs. Johnston by a total of 304 to 87. However, Beard lost 42 of the 43 higher numbered precincts to her. *Bee*, 20 May 1912, 1, 5.
95. *Bee*, 20 May 1912, 1.
96. *Sacramento Union*, 30 September 1913, 3.
97. For useful discussions of Abe Reuf, see James P. Walsh, "Abe Reuf Was No Boss: Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco," *California Historical Quarterly* 51 (Spring 1972): 3-16, and Walton Bean, *Boss Reuf's San Francisco: The Story of the Union Labor Party, Big Business, and the Graft Prosecution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).
98. For similarities in the careers of urban bosses, see Mohl, *New City*, 100-107. For the value of Beard's property, compare the City of Sacramento, *Assessment Book of the Property of the City of Sacramento, for the Year 1903*, 16, to City of Sacramento, *Assessment Book of the Property of the City of Sacramento, for the Year 1913*, 22.

99. The 1911 charter is in *Statutes of California*, Chapter 6, 1911 Extra Session, beginning on page 305. The charter of 1921 is in *Statutes of California*, Chapter 10, 1921, beginning on page 1919. For a perceptive commentary on the relationship between business and businesslike government, see James Weinstein, "Organized Business and the City Commission and Manager Movements," *Journal of Southern History* 28 (May 1962): 166-82.

WOOLSEY, *Lost Cause*, pp. 372-383.

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1. John G. Downey to Pablo de la Guerra, 8 October and 23 July 1860, John G. Downey Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. E. G. Waite, a prominent upstate journalist, recalled that Democrats statewide "divided on the Lecompton & anti-Lecompton issues, between the Douglas and Breckinridge wings, on the construction of squatter sovereignty." See Amos Bowman, *Newspaper Matter, Information on Writers & Newspapers of California* (1878), Bancroft Library Manuscript, University of California, Berkeley.
2. Statistics on the 1860 election in Hubert H. Bancroft, *Works* (50 vols., San Francisco: The History Company, 1884-1890), 7: 265-70. Local returns can be found in the *Los Angeles Star*, 10, 17, and 24 November 1860.
3. Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 19. Analysis of the nuances in native opinion toward the Civil War is in Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 229-48.
4. Augustus S. Ensworth to Cave Johnson Coutts, 23 February 1860, Coutts Papers, Special Collections, Huntington Library. For a review of the transcontinental railroad and state division as sectional issues, see Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927), 136-88; Bancroft, *Works*, 7: 264; and Ward M. McAfee, "California's House Divided," *Civil War History* 33 (June 1987): 115-30.
5. Francisco P. Ramirez, Statement 1888, Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, Bancroft Library. Statistical data for the 1856 and 1860 elections are in *Political Textbook for 1860: Comprising a Brief View of Presidential Nominations and Elections*, eds. Horace Greeley and John F. Cleveland (New York: Tribune Association, 1860), 237-39; and *Los Angeles Star* 10, 17, and 24 November 1860. Statewide politics during the period is best discussed in several unpublished works. Principle among them are William Penn Moody, "The Civil War and Reconstruction in California Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1950); Robert Chandler, "The Press and Civil Liberties in California during the Civil War, 1861-1865" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1978), summarized in "Fighting Words: Censoring Civil War, California Journalism," *The Californians* 8 (May/June 1990): 46-57; and on local politics see Albert Lucien Lewis, "Los Angeles in the Civil War Decades, 1850-1868" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1970).
6. Lewis Granger to Brother Risser, 3 September 1856, Granger Portfolio, Bancroft Library.
7. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. by Roy P. Basler (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:28. The point can be made that Frémont's success in 1856 resulted from a home-state advantage. Nevertheless, the "abolitionist" label certainly damaged the Lincoln campaign. Ironically, Andrew Rolle recently observed that Republican abolitionists became impatient with Lincoln by 1864, and they looked to John C. Frémont as a "flashier" candidate. See Andrew Rolle, "Lincoln As Man And Myth." Speech delivered at the Fifty-Third Annual Lincoln Dinner, 12 February 1985, Redlands, CA, Uncatalogued Acquisition, Huntington Library.
8. The views of both men are outlined in John W. Robinson, "A California Copperhead: Henry Hamilton and the Los Angeles Star," *Arizona and the West* 23 (Autumn 1981): 213-30; and Robinson, "Colonel Edward J. C. Kewen: Los Angeles' Fire-Eating Orator of the Civil War Era," *Southern California Quarterly* 61 (Summer 1979): 159-81.
9. Virginia Capital, 27 August 1898, John G. Johnston Scrapbook, Special Collections, Huntington Library.
10. Joseph Lancaster Brent, *Life in California*, ed. Frances Rossella (Kenner) Brent, (San Marino: 1900), 55-56, 59-61, Special Collections, Huntington Library.
11. Octavius Decatur Gass to Abel Stearns, 18 September 1861, Stearns Papers, Special Collections, Huntington Library. On dissident activity in El Monte and Los Angeles see: William F. King, "El Monte, An American Town in Southern California, 1851-1866," *Southern California Quarterly* 53 (December 1971): 322-23; and Helen B. Walters, "Confederates in Southern California," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 35 (March 1953): 45.
12. *Pioneer Notes from the Diary of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875*, ed. Marjorie T. Wolcott (Los Angeles: McBride Printing Co., 1919), 251.
13. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), vol. 50 *The Pacific Campaign*, 36.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Brent, *Life in California*, 56.
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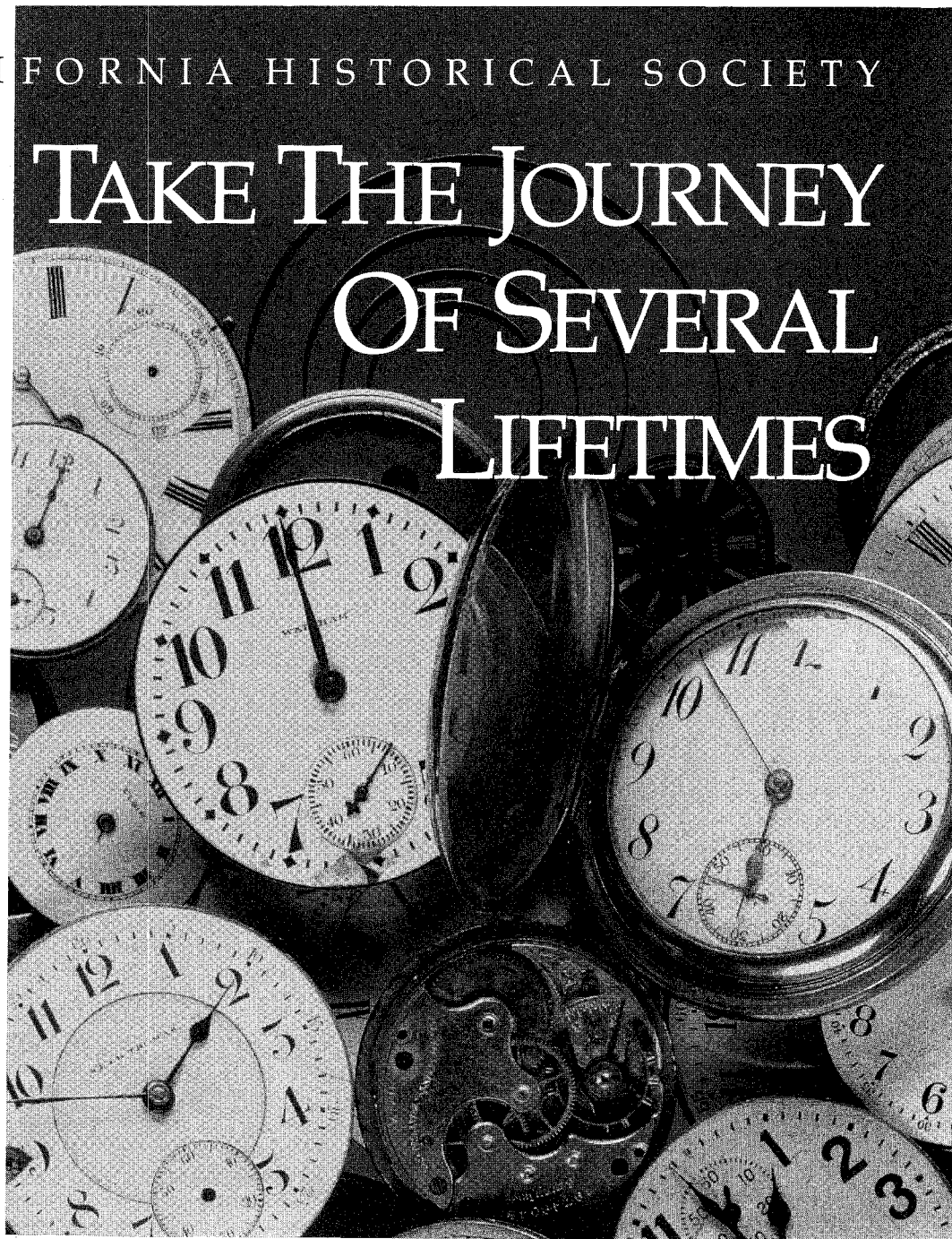
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